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CHRIST CHURCH, GWALIOR

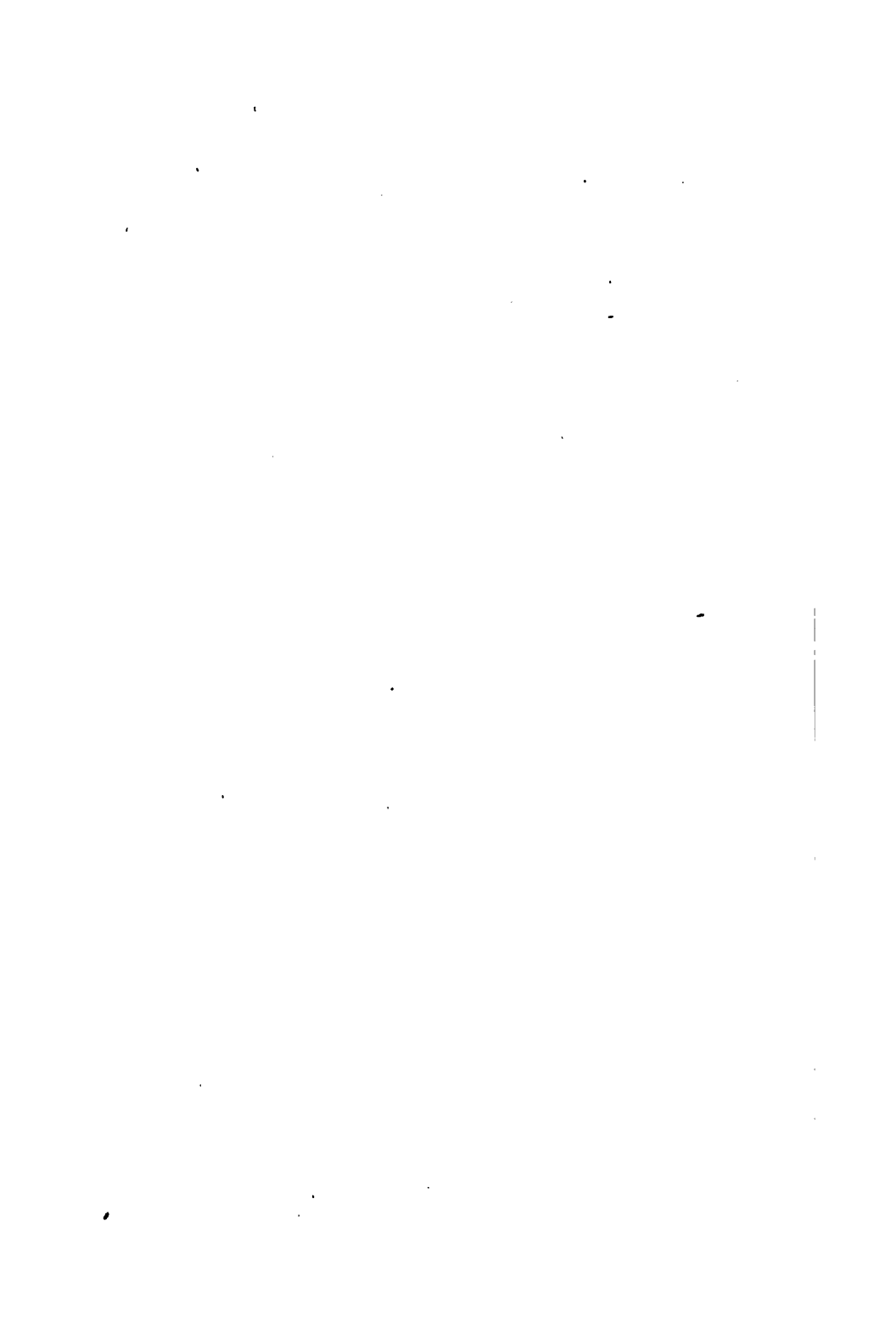


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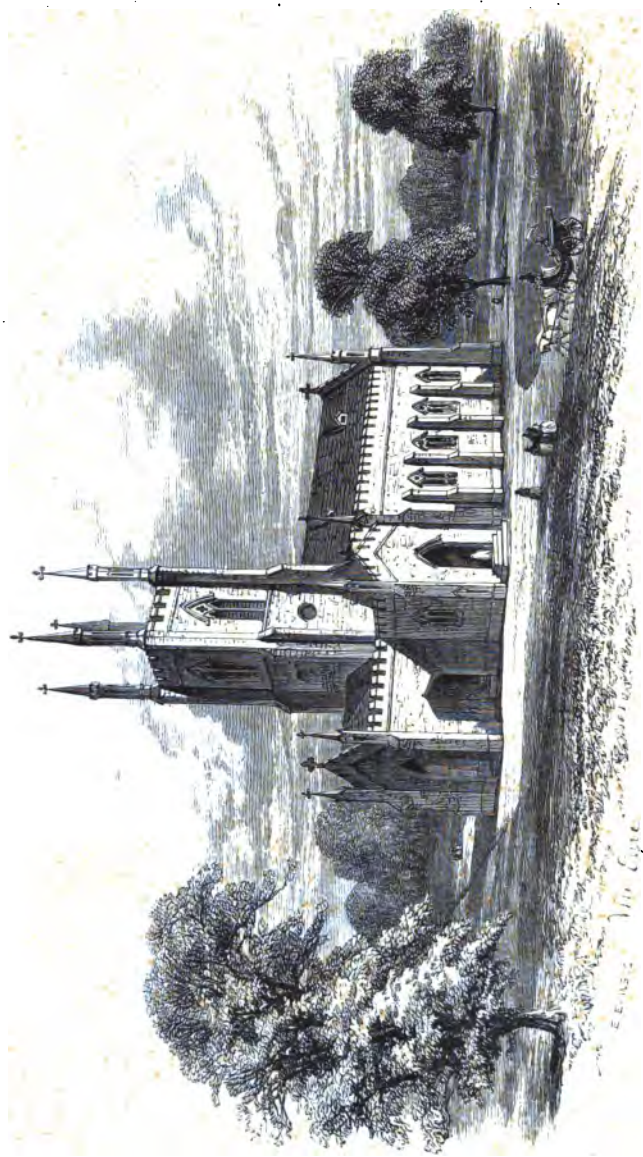


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CHRIST CHURCH GWALIOR.

BUCHANAN'S  
CHRISTIAN RESEARCHES  
IN INDIA:

WITH

THE RISE, SUSPENSION, AND PROBABLE FUTURE OF  
ENGLAND'S RULE AS A CHRISTIAN  
POWER IN INDIA.

EDITED BY

THE REV. W. H. FOY, B.A.  
FORMERLY MISSIONARY CHAPLAIN OF GWALIOR, N.W.I.

With Illustrations.

LONDON:  
G. ROUTLEDGE & CO. FARRINGTON STREET;  
NEW YORK: 18, BEEKMAN STREET.  
1858.

110. a. 19.



To the Memory  
OF THOSE  
OFFICERS OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT  
WHO FELL  
VICTIMS TO THE MUTINY ON JUNE 14, 1857,  
AND AS  
A RECORD OF THE CHRISTIAN ZEAL OF THE OFFICERS, WHO  
MADE SACRIFICES TO SUPPLY THEIR OWN  
SPIRITUAL WANTS,  
The following Pages  
ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.



## P R E F A C E.

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THE Editor, in republishing a new edition of Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches," so far as they relate to India, has ventured, in deference to the wishes of many friends, to incorporate his own thoughts on Christian missions in connection with England's empire in India.

He has reconciled himself to this presumptuous step in the hope that, by resuscitating and illustrating the opinions and the researches of the above-named eminent divine, it will be seen that the principles on which the Marquis of Wellesley, Dr. Buchanan, and like-minded men desired to govern India, would have secured the Divine protection; whereas, those principles not having been carried out, we have, as a nation, been lately bowed down by the heavy hand of God's displeasure. The local Government, the Church, and the Crown, seem all alike to have retrograded, since 1807, in matters affecting India's highest interests; and



unless we act for the future *less presumptuously as conquerors, and more consistently as Christians*, there seems no reason to doubt, that as the mutiny of 1857 had been preceded by the massacre at Vellore and the Cabul disaster, so it may be followed by a more terrible warning, and final punishment of our unfaithfulness, at the time the natives predict—1864.

As the consequence of such a fearful calamity, all the revolting crimes which these Reasearches prove to have been *too gradually abolished by the British Government*, would be too quickly resorted to again by the Hindoos, with the permission of the Mahomedans, who would become the rulers of the country in our stead.

BUCHANAN'S  
CHRISTIAN RESEARCHES,

8c. 8c.

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THE subject of these pages is a wide one, and it is none the less difficult, but rather the more perplexing, in the hand of one who has visited our Eastern Empire, because so much may be said respecting our possessions in Hindostan by one so informed, that he is likely to be bewildered in seeking to decide, not only as to what he shall state, but also as to what he shall not state.

Our chief interest, as a nation, in the history of India, commenced with the arrival of Lord Clive before Fort William, in the year 1757, to avenge the atrocities committed on the English by their imprisonment in the Black Hole. The vengeance which Lord Clive took on the perpetrators of this horrible and successful attempt to smother more than one

hundred and forty Christians to death, his lordship soon followed up by the famous battle of Plassey. If I were to attempt to give a detailed account of the history of India before the time in which the continent of Europe had so great an interest in its welfare, I should try your patience to the utmost.

Suffice it then, in pourtraying to your minds the growth of England's rule in India, to state a few facts which may not seem out of place to connect the events of this time of trial with the year 1757; and, in the event of my success in soliciting your attention, perchance you will pursue the history of this wonderful country under the time-saddened influences of a peaceful fireside.

The inward grief which every true Briton has so practically expressed for India's woes, proves Christian England's greatness; and greatness always sympathizes with the distress which it has not been able to avert. And since it has pleased the Judge of all the earth to absorb our country's mind on India, the widow and the orphan, the motherless and the childless, have wept in silence over blessings for ever fled. In loneliness, still,

thousands sigh and mourn with the afflicted: they soon may need their neighbour's aid to lighten their own affliction and to mitigate the sorrow which the grief-worn heart itself alone can really know.

India has always been a tempting prize to the other nations of the earth.

It is only, indeed, by the intercourse of the different nations of the earth that the world can be civilized, much less christianized; and the observant mind will ever trace in the growth of empires, and in their decay, the patient hand of God, and of His avenging, but heaven-directed rule. Dr. Buchanan observes:—

“It is admitted by all writers that the civilization of the Hindoos will be promoted by intercourse with the English. But this only applies to that small portion of the natives who live in the vicinity of Europeans, and mix with them. As for the bulk of the population, they scarcely ever see an Englishman. It becomes then of importance ‘to ascertain what have been the actual effects of Christianity in those interior provinces of Hindostan where it has been introduced by the Christian missionaries; and to compare them with such of their countrymen as remain in their pristine idolatry.’ It was a chief object of the author’s tour through India, to mark the relative influence of Pagan-

ism and Christianity. In order, then, that the English nation may be able to form a judgment on this subject, he will proceed to give some account of the Hindoos of Juggernaut, and of the native Christians in Tanjore. The Hindoos of Juggernaut have as yet had no advantages of Christian instruction, and continue to worship the idol called Juggernaut. The native Christians of Tanjore, until the light of revelation visited them, worshipped an idol also, called the great Black Bull of Tanjore. And as in this brief work the author chiefly proposes to state merely what he himself has seen, with little comment or observation, it will suffice to give a few extracts from the journal of his tour through these provinces."

In tracing, then, the history of England's power in a country which has proved a mine of wealth to many nations of the earth, we shall find that God has overruled the indulgence of avarice for the mutual advantage of every created race.

Covetousness is itself a sin of fallen human nature; and this, it would seem, first led the inhabitants of Tyre to open up and carry on a trade with Hindostan, by the medium of the Red Sea.

The desire to barter with, and to get gain from, those who thus visited Hindostan, no doubt induced the natives of that country to

welcome to their shores the merchants and shipbuilders of Tyre,—then the emporium of the East.

In the rise and fall of Tyre, we have at once a proof of the close connection which exists between a nation's righteousness and its exaltation among the kingdoms of the world.

The conquest of Nineveh by the king of Babylon rekindled his love of power, and his thirst was not satiated when he had shed seas of human blood. The prophet Jeremiah foretold the sufferings of Tyre and her people, who were connected with the Philistines, as the enemies of God. Tyre may be imagined to have been a city, like Liverpool or London, famous for its trade, for its riches, and made notorious by its sins. The Tyrians possessed a knowledge of navigation, when as yet that science was but little understood; and they therefore, above all others, could trade with distant countries, and so add to the comforts of their fellow-countrymen at home.

The political and social influence which was attached to this once royal city seems in no way to have made them conscious of their

duty to the Most High. They did not serve the Lord themselves, and, consequently, could not be instrumental in conveying any lasting benefit to the other nations of the earth. Not only did the Tyrians feel no sympathy for the Jews in their distresses, but they rejoiced in the fall of Jerusalem, because they hoped and believed that the disasters thus occasioned would be likely to increase their own wealth. The Tyrians, however, were not only guilty of covetousness, for Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, introduced the worship of Baal into Israel, from Sidon, the mother city of Tyre. From the Sidonians also arose the worship of Moloch, and the barbarously murderous practice of human sacrifice ; which latter custom, for years in India, we did all we could to dignify, by calling it a religious observance of the Hindoos.

Tyre had been built by the Sidonians in the third period, while the Israelites were living under the government of their judges, and it soon so surpassed the mother city in wealth and splendour, that we hear little more of Sidon than is necessary to make her humiliation the more severe.

The prophet Ezekiel forewarned Tyre that she had incurred the Divine displeasure; and at length the predictions of the prophet were fulfilled before all the world. For full three years did Nebuchadnezzar besiege that devoted city, and at length it fell, but not before his army had suffered distresses, like those which befell our own before the walls of Delhi, ere that stronghold surrendered as a prize to the daring of our officers and men. Thus much of old Tyre and her fate. About two hundred and fifty years after the fall of old Tyre, Alexander the Great, in the fourth year of his reign, undertook the siege of New Tyre; and this city also fell. He then turned his arms against Jerusalem, and next against Egypt: he made his way with speed to India, and subdued Porus, one of the princes of that country, to whom the conqueror behaved in a manner worthy of imitation by more enlightened men.

On restoring to Porus the kingdom he had conquered, Alexander pushed forward for the Indus. Had his army been as able as they were brave, no spot of ground, from the Indus to the Ganges, would have offered resistance



to his sword; but his troops were worn out by the conquests they had won, and they therefore resolutely refused to proceed further. This great general at length returned to his own kingdom, and abandoned himself to gluttony and drunkenness, in the hope, no doubt, of drowning in forgetfulness the disappointment of his ambition, which followed him to the day of his death.

The successor of Alexander ruled the provinces already conquered, and having made his way victoriously to the river Jumna, he soon became master of some of the provinces of Bengal. The successors of Seleucus held with great tenacity, and for at least half a century, the territory which had been acquired in Hindostan.

Antiochus, king of Syria, about the year 200 B. c., followed up the victories of Alexander the Great; and the invasion and conquest of additional territory in India rendered him famous in war; and he received, or bestowed on himself, the surname of Great.

The possessions of Antiochus made him the object of much hatred; and when he gave shelter to Hannibal, the Romans declared

war against him, as an ally of the Carthaginians.

The Romans were victorious, and as a consequence, all the possessions of Antiochus west of the Indus were transferred to the Grecian king of Bactria, in Asia Minor. The Scythian nomades, wild tribes from the north of Europe, displaced the Bactrians; and these tribes were dispossessed in turn by the Tartars, who were of the Mongol race.

The connection of other nations with India is somewhat obscure from this date, but Dr. Lardner believes that the Grecian sovereign of Bactria, although unable to effect the succession of his son Demetrius in Bactria, was yet able to secure for him a due recognition of sovereignty in his Indian possessions. Every succeeding line reigning in Persia had dominions in Hindostan, till it was eventually overrun and occupied by Mahommedan conquerors.

But there is one most important fact which we must notice in reference to the country of India and its Hindoo inhabitants, and it is this, that, whoever have been masters there, the Hindoos seem to have been as willing to yield to one as to the other.

Before passing on, it may be well to remark one or two circumstances which connect this wonderful country with the earliest Christian times. Our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem was uttered but a short time before his crucifixion. His disciples tarried at Jerusalem till they were endued with power from on high. The stoning of St. Stephen, and the murder of St. James, helped quickly to fill up the measure of the Jews' iniquity; and in all probability, when St. Paul set out on the apostolic journey which brought him to this island, St. Thomas left Aden for India. And, if so, these apostles, no doubt, had left Jerusalem to her fate, and turned from her to carry to Britain and to India the Gospel of Christ, and with it increased responsibility.

About 1807, fifty years after the battle of Plassey, and fifty years before the present mutiny, Dr. Buchanan, vice-provost of the College of Fort William, in Calcutta, found at Cranganore an archbishop presiding over forty-five churches.

It is evident from these researches, that Christianity was introduced into India in apostolic times; that the Syrian Church followed

the pure teaching and apostolic customs of St. Thomas, and that the Roman Church descended to the customs of Hindooism, instead of attempting to raise the natives to the purity of the faith once delivered to the saints.

“The Syrian Christians inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar, in the south of India, and have been settled there from the early ages of Christianity. The first notices of this ancient people, in recent times, are to be found in the Portuguese histories. When Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1503, he saw the sceptre of the Christian king; for the Syrian Christians had formerly regal power in Malay-Ala.\* The name or title of their last king was Beliarthe; and he dying without issue, the dominion devolved on the king of Cochin and Diamper.

“When the Portuguese arrived, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. But when they became acquainted with the purity and simplicity of their worship, they were offended. ‘These churches,’ said the Portuguese, ‘belong to the Pope.’ ‘Who is the Pope?’ said the natives; ‘we never heard of him.’ The European priests were yet more alarmed when they found that these Hindoo Christians maintained

\* “Malay-Ala is the proper name for the whole country of Travancore and Malabar, comprehending the territory between the mountains and the sea, from Cape Comorin to Cape Illi or Dilly. The language of these extensive regions is called Malay-alim, and sometimes Malabar. We shall use the word *Malabar* as being of easier pronunciation.

the order and discipline of a regular church under episcopal jurisdiction; and that, for one thousand three hundred years past, they had enjoyed a *succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch*. 'We,' said they, 'are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians.'

"When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and devoted them to the death of heretics. Then the inhabitants heard for the first time that there was a place called the Inquisition; and that its fires had been lately lighted at Goa, near their own land. But the Portuguese, finding that the people were resolute in defending their ancient faith, began to try more conciliatory measures. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon, and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Romish Archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions:—'That they had married wives; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory; and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the Church than bishop, priest, and deacon.' These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all church benefices. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on eccle-

siastical subjects that could be found should be burned ; 'in order,' said the Inquisitors, 'that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain.'

"The churches on the sea-coast were thus compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope : but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on retaining their own language and Liturgy. This point they said they would only give up with their lives. The Pope compromised with them : Menezes purged their liturgy of its errors ; and they retain their Syriac language, and have a Syriac college unto this day. These are called the Syro-Roman churches, and are principally situated on the sea-coast.

"The churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. After a show of submission for a little while, they proclaimed eternal war against the Inquisition ; they hid their books, fled to the mountains, and sought the protection of the Native Princes, who had always been proud of their alliance.

"Two centuries had elapsed without any particular information concerning the Syrian Christians in Malay-Ala. It was doubted by many whether they existed at all ; but if they did exist, it was thought probable that they must possess some interesting documents of Christian antiquity. The author conceived the design of visiting them, if practicable, in his tour through Hindostan. He presented a short memoir on the subject, in 1805, to Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General of India, who was pleased to give orders that every facility should be afforded to him in the prosecution of his inquiries. About a year after that nobleman had

left India, the author proceeded on his tour. It was necessary that he should visit first the court of the rajah of Travancore, in whose dominions the Syrian Christians resided, that he might obtain permission to pass to their country. The two chief objects which he proposed to himself in exploring the state of this ancient people were these:—First, to investigate their literature and history, and to collect biblical manuscripts. Secondly, if he should find them to be an intelligent people, and well acquainted with the Syriac Scriptures, to endeavour to make them instruments of illuminating the southern part of India, by engaging them in translating their Scriptures into the native languages. He had reason to believe that this had not yet been done; and he was prepared not to wonder at the delay, when he reflected how long it was before his own countrymen began to think it their duty to make versions of the Scriptures for the use of other nations.”

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“I have now been a week (Oct. 19th, 1806) at the palace of Trivandurum, where the rajah resides. A letter of introduction from Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay, the British resident at Travancore, procured me a proper reception. At my first audience his highness was very inquisitive as to the objects of my journey. As I had servants with me of different castes and languages, it was very easy for the Brahmins to discover every particular they might wish to know, in regard to my profession, pursuits, and manner of life. When I

told the rajah that the Syrian Christians were supposed to be of the same religion with the English, he said he thought that could not be the case, else he must have heard it before; if, however, it was so, he considered my desire to visit them as being very reasonable. I assured his highness that their Shaster and ours was the same; and showed him a Syriac New Testament which I had at hand. The book being bound and gilt after the European manner, the rajah shook his head, and said he was sure there was not a native in his dominions who could read that book. I observed that this would be proved in a few days. The dewan, or prime minister, thought the character something like what he had seen sometimes in the houses of the Sooriani. The rajah said he would afford me every facility for my journey in his power. He put an emerald ring on my finger as a mark of his friendship, and to secure me respect in passing through his country; and he directed his dewan to send proper persons with me as guides.

“I requested that the rajah would be pleased to present a catalogue of all the Hindoo manuscripts in the temples of Travancore to the college of Fort William in Bengal. The Brahmins were very averse to this; but when I showed the rajah the catalogues of the books in the temples of Tanjore, given by the rajah of Tanjore, and of those of the temple of Ramisseram, given me by order of the rannie (or queen) of Ramnad, he desired it might be done: and orders have been sent to the Hindoo College of Trichoor for that purpose.”\*

\* “These three catalogues, together with that of the rajah of



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“ From the palace of Travancore I (November, 1806) proceeded to Mavelly-car, and thence to the hills at the bottom of the high ghauts which divide the Carnatic from Malay-Ala. The face of the country in general, in the vicinity of the mountains, exhibits a varied scene of hill and dale, and winding streams. These streams fall from the mountains, and preserve the valleys in perpetual verdure. The woods produce pepper, cardamoms, and cassia or common cinnamon; also frankincense and other aromatic gums. What adds much to the grandeur of the scenery in this country is, that the adjacent mountains of Travancore are not barren, but are covered with forests of teak-wood (the Indian oak), producing, it is said, the largest timber in the world.

“ The first view of the Christian churches in this sequestered region of Hindostan, connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the old parish churches in England; the style of building in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof being exposed to view, are ornamented; and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular and fretted. In the cathedral churches, the shrines of the deceased bishops are placed on each side of the altar. Most of

Cochin, which the author procured afterwards, are now deposited in the college of Fort William, and probably contain all the Hindoo literature of the south of India.”

the churches are built of a reddish stone,\* squared and polished at the quarry; and are of durable construction. The bells of the churches are cast in the foundries of the country: some of them are of large dimensions, and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malayalim. In approaching a town in the evening, I once heard the sound of the bells among the hills; a circumstance which made me forget for a moment that I was in Hindostan, and reminded me of *another* country.

"The first Syrian church which I saw was at Mavelycar: but the Syrians here are in the vicinity of the Romish Christians, and are not so simple in their manners as those nearer the mountains. They had been often visited by Romish emissaries in former times; and they at first suspected that I belonged to that communion. They had heard of the English, but strangely supposed that they belonged to the Church of the Pope in the West. They had been so little accustomed to see a friend, that they could not believe that I was come with any friendly purpose. Added to this, I had some discussions with a most intelligent priest in regard to the original language of the four Gospels, which he maintained to be Syriac; and they suspected, from the complexion of my argument, that I wished to weaken the evidences for their antiquity.† Soon, how-

\* "This stone possesses a singular property. At the quarry it is so soft that it may be pared with a knife, and modelled in any fashion with ease; but when exposed to the air it indurates like adamant. Dr. Francis Buchanan, of Bengal, wished me to bring home a specimen of this stone, which he had not seen in any of the collections in Britain.

† "'You concede,' said the Syrian, 'that our Saviour spoke in our language; how do you know it?' From Syriac expres-

ever, the gloom and suspicion subsided ; they gave me the right hand of fellowship in the primitive manner, and one of their number was deputed to accompany me to the churches in the interior.

“ When we were approaching the church of Chinganoor, we met one of the *cassanars*, or Syrian clergy.

sions in the Greek Gospels. It appears that he spoke Syriac when he walked by the way (Ephphatha), and when he sat in the house (Talitha Cumi), and when he was upon the cross (Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani). The Syrians were pleased when they heard that we had got their language in our English books. The priest observed that these last were not the exact words, but ‘Ail, Ail, lamono sabachthani.’ I answered that the word must have been very like *Eli*, for one said, ‘He calleth *Elias*.’ ‘True,’ said he, ‘but yet it was more likely to be *Ail* (pronounced *il* or *eel*) ; for *Hil* or *Hila* is Syriac for vinegar ; and one thought he wanted vinegar, and filled immediately a sponge with it. But our Saviour did not want the medicated drink, as they supposed. But,’ added he, ‘if the parables and discourses of our Lord were in Syriac, and the people of Jerusalem commonly used it, is it not marvellous that his disciples did not record his parables in the Syriac language ; and that they should have recourse to the Greek ?’ I observed that the Gospel was for the world, and the Greek was then the universal language, and therefore Providence selected it. ‘It is very probable,’ said he, ‘that the Gospels were translated immediately afterwards into Greek, as into other languages ; but surely there must have been a Syriac original. The poor people in Jerusalem could not read Greek. Had *they* no record in their hands of Christ’s parables which they had heard, and of his sublime discourses recorded by St. John, after his ascension ?’ I acknowledged that it was believed by some of the learned that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written originally in Syriac. ‘So you admit St. Matthew ? You may as well admit St. John. Or was one gospel enough for the inhabitants of Jerusalem ?’ I contended that there were many Greek and Roman words in their own Syriac gospels. ‘True,’ said he, ‘Roman words for Roman things.’ They wished, however, to see some of these words. The discussion afterwards, particularly in reference to the Gospel of St. Luke, was more in my favour.

He was dressed in a white loose vestment, with a cap of red silk hanging down behind. Being informed who he was, I said to him in the Syriac language, 'Peace be unto you.' He was surprised at the salutation, but immediately answered, 'The God of peace be with you.' He accosted the rajah's servants, in the language of the country, to know who I was; and immediately returned to the village to announce our approach. When we arrived, I was received at the door of the church by three *kasheeshas*,—that is, presbyters, or priests,—who were habited in like manner, in white vestments. Their names were Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias, which they wrote down in my journal, each of them adding to his name the title of *kasheesha*. There were also present two *shumshanas*, or deacons. The elder priest was a very intelligent man, of reverend appearance, having a long white beard, and of an affable and engaging deportment. The three principal Christians, or lay elders, belonging to the church, were named Abraham, Thoma, and Alexandros. After some conversation with my attendants, they received me with confidence and affection; and the people of the neighbouring villages came round, women as well as men. The sight of the women assured me that I was once more (after a long absence from England) in a Christian country; for the Hindoo women, and the Mahomedan women, and, in short, all women who are not Christians, are accounted by the men an inferior race; and, in general, are confined to the house for life, like irrational creatures. In every countenance now before me I thought I could discover the intelligence of Christianity; but at the

same time, I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches and in the people there was the air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior priest, 'You appear to me like a people who have known better days.' 'It is even so,' said he; 'we are in a degenerate state, compared with our forefathers.' He noticed that there were two causes of their present decay. 'About 300 years ago, an enemy came from the West, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the Inquisition, and compelled us to seek the protection of the native princes; and the native princes have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the *nairs*, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our Church has passed away; but we hope your nation will revive it again.' I observed that 'the glory of a Church could never die, if it preserved the Bible.' 'We have preserved the Bible,' said he; 'the Hindoo princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power; and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this Christian duty we are not so active as we once were. Besides, it is not so creditable now to become Christian, in our low estate.' He then pointed out to me a Namboory Brahmin—that is a Brahmin of the highest caste—who had lately become a Christian, and assumed the white vestment of a Syrian priest. 'The learning too of the Bible,' he added, 'is in a low

state amongst us. Our copies are few in number, and that number is diminishing instead of increasing; and the writing out a whole copy of sacred scriptures is a great labour, where there is no profit and little piety.' I then produced a printed copy of the Syriac New Testament. There was not one of them who had ever seen a printed copy before. They admired it much; and every priest, as it came into his hands, began to read a portion, which he did fluently, while the women came round to hear. I asked the old priest whether I should send them some copies from Europe. 'They would be worth their weight in silver,' said he. He asked me whether the Old Testament was printed in Syriac as well as the New. I told him it was, but I had not a copy. They professed an earnest desire to obtain some copies of the whole Syriac Bible; and asked whether it would be practicable to obtain one copy for every church. 'I must confess to you,' said Zecharias, 'that we have very few copies of the prophetical scriptures in the Church. Our Church languishes for want of the Scriptures.' But he added, 'the language that is most in use among the people is the Malayalim, or Malabar, the vernacular language of the country. The Syriac is now only the learned language, and the language of the Church; but we generally expound the Scriptures to the people in the vernacular tongue.'

"I then entered on the subject of the translation of the Scriptures. He said 'a version could be made with critical accuracy; for there were many of the Syrian clergy who were perfect masters of both languages,

having spoken them from their infancy.' 'But,' said he, 'our bishop will rejoice to see you, and to discourse with you on this and other subjects.' I told them that if a translation could be prepared, I should be able to get it printed, and to distribute copies among their fifty-five churches at a small price. 'That, indeed, would give joy,' said old Abraham. There was here a murmur of satisfaction among the people. 'If I understand you right,' said I, 'the greatest blessing the English Church can bestow upon you is the Bible.' 'It is so,' said he. 'And what is the next greatest?' said I.—'Some freedom and personal consequence as a people.' By which he meant political liberty. 'We are here in bondage, like Israel in Egypt.' I observed that the English nation would doubtless recognize a nation of fellow-Christians; and would be happy to interest itself in their behalf, as far as our political relation with the prince of the country would permit. They wished to know what were the principles of the English government, civil and religious. I answered, that our government might be said to be founded generally on the principles of the Bible. 'Ah,' said old Zecharias, 'that must be a glorious government which is founded on the principles of the Bible.' The priests then desired I would give them some account of the history of the English nation, and of our secession from their enemy the Church of Rome. And, in return, I requested they would give me some account of their history. My communications with the Syrians are rendered very easy, by means of an interpreter whom I brought with me all the way from the Tanjore country.

He is a Hindoo by descent, but is an intelligent Christian, and was a pupil and catechist of the late Mr. Swartz. The Rev. Mr. Kolhoff recommended him to me. He formerly lived in Travancore, and is well acquainted with the vernacular tongue. He also reads and writes English very well, and is as much interested in favour of the Syrian Christians as I myself. Besides Mr. Swartz's catechist, there are two natives of Travancore here who speak the Hindostanee language, which is familiar to me. My knowledge of the Syriac is sufficient to refer to texts of Scripture; but I do not well understand the pronunciation of the Syrians. I hope to be better acquainted with their language before I leave the country."

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"This church (Ranniel, Nov. 12, 1806) is built upon a rocky hill on the banks of the river, and is the most remote of all the churches in this quarter. The two *kasheeshas* here are Lucas and Mattai (Luke and Matthew). The chief lay members are Abraham, Georgius, Thoma, and Philippus. Some of the priests accompany me from church to church. I have now visited eight churches, and scarcely believe that I am in the land of the Hindoos; only that I now and then see a Hindoo temple on the banks of the river. I observed that the bells of most of the churches are within the building, and not in a tower. The reason they said was this:—When a Hindoo temple happens to be near a church, the Hindoos do not like the bell



to sound loud, for they say it frightens their god. I perceive that the Syrian Christians assimilate much to the Hindoos, in the practice of frequent ablutions for health and cleanliness, and in the use of vegetables and light food.

"I attended divine service on the Sunday. Their liturgy is that which was formerly used in the churches of the Patriarch of Antioch. During the prayers, there were intervals of silence; the priests praying in a low voice, and every man praying for himself. These silent intervals add much to the solemnity and appearance of devotion. They use incense in the churches: it grows in the woods around them, and contributes much, they say, to health, and to the warmth and comfort of the church during the cold and rainy season of the year. At the conclusion of the service, a ceremony takes place which pleased me much. The priest (or bishop, if he be present) comes forward, and all the people pass by him as they go out, receiving his benediction individually. If any man has been guilty of any immorality, he does not receive the blessing; and this, in their primitive and patriarchal state, is accounted a severe punishment. Instruction by preaching is little in use among them now. Many of the old men lamented the decay of piety and religious knowledge, and spoke with pleasure of the record of ancient times. They have some ceremonies nearly allied to those of the Greek Church. Here, as in all churches in a state of decline, there is too much formality in the worship. But they have the Bible and a scriptural liturgy; and these will save a church in the worst of times. These may preserve

the spark and life of religion, though the flame be out. And as there were but few copies of the Bible among the Syrians (for every copy was transcribed with the pen), it is highly probable that, if they had not enjoyed the advantage of the daily prayers and daily portions of Scripture in their liturgy, there would have been, in the revolution of ages, no vestige of Christianity left among them.\*

\* "In a nation like ours, overflowing with knowledge, men are not always in circumstances to perceive the value of a scriptural liturgy. When Christians are well taught, they think they want something better. But the young and the ignorant, who form a great proportion of the community, are edified by a little plain scriptural instruction frequently repeated. A small church or sect may do without a form for a while; but a national liturgy is that which preserves a relic of the true faith among the people in a large empire, when the priests leave their Articles and their Confessions of Faith. Woe to the declining church which hath no scriptural liturgy! For when the Bible is gone, or when it ceases to be read to the people, what is there left? Witness the Presbyterians in the West of England, and some other sects, who are said to have become Arians and Socinians to a man. Eight chapters of holy Scripture, on an average, including the Psalms, are read to the people on every Sabbath-day in the Church of England. Four chapters are recommended to be read on every Sabbath-day by the 'Directory for Public Worship' in the Church of Scotland; viz. 'one chapter of each Testament at every meeting.' But in consequence of its not being *positively ordained* (as in the Church of England), not one chapter is now regularly read. When, therefore, a minister of the Kirk chooses to deviate from the evangelical doctrines of the Confession of Faith (which will sometimes happen), what, we would ask, is there left for the people?" "The

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\* "The Kirk of Scotland is, we believe, the only national church in the world in which the Holy Scriptures *are not read*. When its ministers are asked why they do not conform to the authorized ritual for the public worship of the nation, and read the Word of God regularly to the people, they answer that

Persons nor dividing the Substance, one in three, and three in one;—the Father generator, the Son generated, and the Holy Ghost proceeding. None is before or after the other; in majesty, honour, might, and power, co-equal; Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.' He then proceeds to disclaim the different errors of Arius, Sabelius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians; and concludes, 'That in the appointed time, through the disposition of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, through the means of the Holy Ghost, and was incarnate God and Man.'"

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"In every church, and in many of the private houses, there are manuscripts in the Syriac language: and I have been successful in procuring some old and valuable copies of the Scriptures and other books, written in different ages and in different characters."

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"This (Cande-nad, a church of the Syrian Christians—November 23, 1806) is the residence of Mar Dionysius, the metropolitan of the Syrian Church. A number of the priests from the other churches had assembled, by desire of the bishop, before my arrival. The bishop resides in a building attached to the church. I was much struck with his first appearance. He was dressed in a vestment of dark red silk; a large golden cross

hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. Such, thought I, was the appearance of Chrysostom in the fourth century. On public occasions, he wears the episcopal mitre; a muslin robe is thrown over his under garment, and in his hand he bears the crosier, or pastoral staff....He is a man of highly respectable character in his Church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I found him to be far superior in general learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen. He told me that all my conversations with his priests, since my arrival in the country, had been communicated to him. 'You have come,' said he, 'to visit a declining church, and I am now an old man: but the hopes of its seeing better days cheer my old age, though I may not live to see them.' I submitted to the bishop my wishes in regard to the translation and printing of the Holy Scriptures. 'I have already fully considered the subject,' said he, 'and have determined to superintend the work myself, and to call the most learned of my clergy to my aid. It is a work which will illuminate these dark regions, and God will give it his blessing.' I was much pleased when I heard this pious resolution of the venerable man; for I had now ascertained that there are upwards of 200,000 Christians in the south of India, besides the Syrians, who speak the Malabar language. The next subject of importance, in my mind, was the collection of useful manuscripts in the Chaldaic and Syriac languages; and the bishop was pleased to say that he would assist my inquiries, and add to my collection. He descanted with

great satisfaction on the hope of seeing printed Syriac Bibles from England; and said they would be 'a treasure to his Church.'"

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"Since my coming amongst this people, I had cherished the hope that they might be one day united with the Church of England. When I reflected on the immense power of the Romish Church in India, and on our inability to withstand its influence alone, it appeared to be an object of great consequence to secure the aid and co-operation of the Syrian Church, and the sanction of its antiquity in the East. I thought it might be serviceable, at least, to lay such a foundation by the discussion of the subject, as our Church might act upon hereafter, if she should think it expedient. I was afraid to mention the subject to the bishop at our first interview; but he himself intimated that he would be glad if I would communicate freely upon it with two of his clergy. I had hitherto observed somewhat of a reserve in those with whom I had conversed on this matter: and now the cause was explained. The bishop's chaplains confessed to me that they had doubts as to the purity of English ordination. 'The English,' said they, 'may be a warlike and great people; but their Church, by your own account, is but of a recent origin. Whence do you derive your ordination?'—'From Rome.' 'You derive it from a church which is our ancient enemy, and with which we would never unite.' They acknowledged that there might be salvation in every church where 'the name

of Christ was named ;' but in the question of an union, it was to be considered that they had existed a pure Church of Christ from the earliest ages ; that if there was such a thing in the world as ordination by the laying on of hands, in succession from the apostles, it was probable that they possessed it ; that there was no record of history or tradition to impeach their claim. I observed that there was reason to believe that the same ordination had descended from the apostles to the Church of Rome. ' It might be so : but that Church had departed from the faith.' I answered that the impurity of the channel had not corrupted the ordinance itself, or invalidated the legitimacy of the imposition of hands ; any more than the wickedness of a high priest in Israel could disqualify his successors. The Church of England assumed that she derived apostolical ordination *through* the Church of Rome, as she might have derived it *through* the Church of Antioch. I did not consider that the Church of England was entitled to reckon her ordination to be higher or more sacred than that of the Syrian Church. This was the point upon which they wished me to be explicit. They expected that in any official negotiation on this subject, the antiquity and purity of Syrian ordination should be expressly admitted.

" Our conversation was reported to the bishop. He wished me to state the advantages of an union. One advantage would be, I observed, that English clergymen, or rather missionaries ordained by the Church of England, might be permitted hereafter to preach in the numerous churches of the Syrians in India, and aid

them in the promulgation of pure religion, against the preponderating and increasing influence of the Romish Church; and again, that ordination by the Syrian bishop might qualify for preaching in the English churches in India; for we had an immense empire in Hindostan, but few preachers: and of these few scarcely any could preach in the native languages. The bishop said, 'I would sacrifice much for such an union: only let me not be called to compromise anything of the dignity and purity of our Church.' I told him, we did not wish to degrade, we would rather protect and defend it. All must confess that it was Christ's Church in the midst of a heathen land. The Church of England would be happy to promote its welfare, <sup>41</sup> to revive its spirit, and to use it as an instrument of future good in the midst of her own empire. I took this occasion to observe, that there were some rites and practices in the Syrian Church which our Church might consider objectionable or nugatory. The bishop confessed that some customs had been introduced, during their decline in the latter centuries, which had no necessary connection with the constitution of the Church, and might be removed without inconvenience. He asked whether I had authority from my own Church to make any proposition to him. I answered that I had not: that my own Church scarcely knew that the Syrian Church existed: but I could anticipate the wishes and purposes of good men. He thought it strange that there was no bishop in India to superintend so large an empire; and said he did not perfectly comprehend our ecclesiastical principles. I told him

that we had sent bishops to other countries; but that our Indian empire was yet in its infancy. Next day the bishop, after conferring with his clergy on the subject, returned an answer in writing to the following effect:—‘That an union with the English Church, or, at least, such a connection as should appear to both Churches practicable and expedient, would be a happy event, and favourable to the advancement of religion in India.’ In making this communication, he used his official designation, ‘Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of Malabar.’ I asked the bishop if he would permit two of the young Cassanars to go to England to finish their education, and then return to India. He said he should be very happy to give his permission, if any should be found who were willing to go. I have accordingly made the offer to two youths of good abilities, who are well skilled in the Syriac language.”

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“The bishop was desirous to know something of the other churches which had separated from Rome. I was ashamed to tell him how many they were. I mentioned that there was a *Kasheesha* or Presbyter Church in our own kingdom, in which every *kasheesha* was equal to another. ‘And are there no *shumshanas*?’ (Deacons in holy orders.)—‘None.’ ‘And what, is there nobody to overlook the *kasheeshas*?’—‘Not one.’ ‘And who is the angel of their Church?’ (Alluding to the form of the seven churches in Asia, Rev. ii. 1.)—‘They have none.’ ‘There must be something imperfect there,’



said he.\* This led to the mention of the different sects. Those which most interested him were the Quakers and Baptists. He said it was an imposing idea to wash the body with water to begin a new life. He asked whether they were baptized again every time they relapsed into sin and known apostasy. 'Are there good men amongst these sects?'—'Excellent men almost in all.' 'I see it is with you as it was in the first ages; new sects were produced by true piety, but it was piety founded on ignorance. But do not good men in these sects relax a little when they grow old?'—'Yes; they speak in general less frequently and less dogmatically of their peculiar forms when they are old: one reason of which is, that the smaller sects, who are for the most part poor, generally acquire their competence of learning in advanced life.' We next had some conversation concerning forms of worship; whether Christ intended that his Church should have the same form under the burning line, and in a country of frost and snow."

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"From Cande-nad I returned (Udiamper, Dec. 1806) to the sea-coast, to visit Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay, the

\* "It is proper to state, for the satisfaction of those who may differ in opinion with the venerable bishop, that in the Syriac translation of the New Testament there is no proper word for bishop other than *kasheesha*. The words *kasheesha* and *shumshana*, or properly *me-shumshana*, are the two terms for the two orders of bishop and deacon, in the third chapter of 1st Timothy. The terms *episcopos* and *metropolita* have been introduced into the Syrian Church from the Greek. The bishop seemed to be more surprised at the striking out the sacred order of deacon, than at not finding the order of a superintending priest or bishop."

British Resident in Travancore. He is at present on the island of Bal-gatty, called by the natives the Pepper-Jungle. I have derived much valuable information from this intelligent officer, who possesses a better knowledge of the South of India than I suppose any other European. He is a gentleman of a highly-cultivated mind, of much various learning, and master of several languages. To these attainments he adds a quality which does not always accompany them: he is the friend of Christianity. After residing with him a few days, he accompanied me in a tour to the interior. We first visited Udiamper, or, as it is called by the Portuguese writers, Diamper. This was formerly the residence of Beliarte, king of the Christians; and here is the Syrian church at which Archbishop Menezes, from Goa, convened the synod of the Syrian clergy in 1599, when he burned the Syriac and Chaldaic books. The Syrians report that while the flames ascended, he went round the church in procession, chanting a song of triumph.

“From Udiamper, Colonel Macaulay accompanied me to Cande-nad, to visit the Syrian bishop a second time. He told us he had commenced the translation of the Scriptures. He was rather indisposed, and said he felt the infirmities of advanced years, his age being now seventy-eight. I promised to see him once more before I left the country.”

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“This is (Cranganore, 9th Dec. 1807) that celebrated place of Christian antiquity where the apostle Thomas

is said to have landed, when he first arrived in India from Aden, in Arabia. There was formerly a town and fort at Cranganore, the Portuguese having once thought of making it the emporium of their commerce in India; but both are now in ruins. There is, however, one substantial relic of its greatness: there is an archbishop at Cranganore, and subject to him there are forty-five churches, many of which I entered. In some of them the worship is conducted with as much decorum as in the Romish churches of Western Ireland. Not far from Cranganore is the town of Paroor, where there is an ancient Syrian church, which bears the name of the apostle Thomas. It is supposed to be the oldest in Malabar, and is still used for divine service. I took a drawing of it. The tradition among the Syrians is, that the apostle continued at this place for a time before he went to preach at Melapoor and St. Thomas's Mount, on the coast of Coromandel, where he was put to death. The fact is certainly of little consequence; but I am satisfied that we have as good authority for believing that the apostle Thomas died in India, as that the apostle Peter died at Rome."

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"This (Verapoli, Dec. 1806) is the residence of Bishop Raymondo, the Pope's apostolic vicar in Malabar. There is a college here for the sacerdotal office, in which the students (from ten to twenty in number) are instructed in the Latin and Syriac languages. At Pulingunna there is another college, in which the Syriac alone is taught. Here I counted twelve students. The

apostolic vicar superintends sixty-four churches, exclusive of the forty-five governed by the archbishop of Cranganore, and exclusive of the large dioceses of the bishops of Cochin and of Quilon, whose churches extend to Cape Comorin, and are visible from the sea. The view of this assemblage of Christian congregations excited in my mind mingled sensations of pleasure and regret: of pleasure to think that so many of the Hindoos have been rescued from the idolatry of Brahma, and its criminal worship; and of regret when I reflected that there was not to be found among the whole body one copy of the Holy Bible.

“The apostolic vicar is an Italian, and corresponds with the society ‘*de Propaganda Fide*.’ He is a man of liberal manners, and gave me free access to the archives of Verapoli, which are upwards of two centuries old. In the library I found many volumes marked ‘*Liber hereticus prohibitus*.’ Almost every step I take in Christian India, I meet with a memento of the Inquisition. The apostolical vicar, however, does not acknowledge its authority, and places himself under British protection. He spoke of the Inquisition with just indignation, and, in the presence of the British resident, called it ‘a horrid tribunal.’ I asked him whether he thought I might with safety visit the Inquisition, when I sailed past Goa, there being at this time a British force in its vicinity. It asserted a personal jurisdiction over natives who were now British subjects; and it was proper the English government should know something of its present state. The bishop answered, ‘I do not know what you might do under the protection of a

British force; but I should not like (smiling, and pressing his capacious sides) to trust *my* body in their hands.'

"We then had some conversation on the subject of giving the Scriptures to the native Roman Catholics. I had heard before that the bishop was by no means hostile to the measure. I told him that I should probably find the means of translating the Scriptures into the Malabar language, and wished to know whether he had any objection to this mode of illuminating the ignorant minds of the native Christians. He said he had none. I visited the bishop two or three times afterwards. At our last interview he said, 'I have been thinking of the good gift you are meditating for the native Christians; but believe me, the Inquisition will endeavour to counteract your purposes by every means in their power.' I afterwards conversed with an intelligent native priest, who was well acquainted with the state and character of the Christians, and asked him whether he thought they would be happy to obtain the Scriptures.—'Yes,' answered he, '*those who have heard of them.*' I asked if he had got a Bible himself. 'No,' he said; 'but he had seen one at Goa.'"

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"I have penetrated once more inland (Angamalee, a Syrian town, containing three churches—January, 1807) to visit the Syrian churches. At the town of Cenotta, I was surprised to meet with Jews and Christians in the same street. The Jews led me first to their synagogue, and allowed me to take away some manuscripts

for money. The Syrian Christians then conducted me to their ancient church. I afterwards sat down on an eminence above the town to contemplate this interesting spectacle; a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church, standing over against each other, exhibiting, as it were, during many revolving ages, the LAW and the GOSPEL to the view of the heathen people.

“Angamalee is one of the most remote of the Syrian towns in this direction, and is situated on a high land. This was once the residence of the Syrian bishop. The inhabitants told me that when Tippoo Sultan invaded Travancore, a detachment of his cavalry penetrated to Angamalee, where they expected to find great wealth, from its ancient fame. Being Mahomedans, they expressed their abhorrence of the Christian religion, by destroying one of the lesser churches, and stabling their horses in the great church. In this place I found a good many valuable manuscripts. I had been led to suppose, from the statement of the Portuguese historians, that possibly all the Syriac manuscripts of the Bible had been burned by the Romish Church at the Synod of Diamper, in 1599. But this was not the case. The Inquisitors condemned many books to the flames; but they saved the Bible; being content to order that the Syriac scriptures should be amended agreeably to the Vulgate of Rome. But many Bibles and other volumes were not produced at all. In the acts of the Council of Nice, it is recorded that Johannis, bishop of India, signed his name at that council in A.D. 325. The Syriac version of the Scriptures was brought to India, according to the popular belief, before the year 325.

Some of their present copies are certainly of ancient date. Though written on a strong thick paper, like that of some manuscripts in the British Museum, commonly called Eastern paper, the ink has, in several places, eat through the material in the exact form of the letter. In other copies, where the ink had less of a corroding quality, it has fallen off, and left a dark vestige of the letter; faint, indeed, but not in general illegible.

“There is a volume, which was deposited in one of the remote churches, near the mountains, which merits a particular description. It contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed on strong vellum, in large folio, having three columns in a page, and is written with beautiful accuracy. The character is Estrangelo Syriac; and the words of every book are numbered. But the volume has suffered injury from time or neglect: in certain places the ink has been totally obliterated from the page, and left the parchment in its state of natural whiteness; but the letters can, in general, be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. I scarcely expected that the Syrian Church would have parted with this manuscript; but the bishop was pleased to present it to me, saying, ‘It will be safer in your hands than in our own,’ alluding to the revolutions in Hindostan; ‘and yet,’ said he, ‘we have kept it, as some think, for near a thousand years.’—‘I wish,’ said I, ‘that England may be able to keep it a thousand years.’—In looking over it, I find the very first proposed emendation of the Hebrew text by Dr. Kennicott (Gen. iv. 8), in this

manuscript; and, no doubt, it is the right reading. The disputed passage in 1 John v. 7 is not to be found in it, nor is this verse to be found in any copy of the Syriac scriptures which I have yet seen.\* The view of these copies of the Scriptures, and of the churches which contain them, still continues to excite a pleasing astonishment in my mind; and I sometimes question myself, whether I am indeed in India, in the midst of the Hindoos, and not far from the equinoctial line. How wonderful it is, that during the dark ages of Europe, whilst ignorance and superstition, in a manner, denied the Scriptures to the rest of the world, the Bible should have found an asylum in the mountains of Malay-ala, where it was freely read by upwards of a hundred churches!

“But there are other ancient documents in Malabar, not less interesting than the Syrian manuscripts. The old Portuguese historians relate, that soon after the arrival of their countrymen in India, about 300 years ago, the Syrian bishop of Angamalee (the place where

\* “Notwithstanding this omission, the author believes the passage to be genuine. The foundation on which he builds this opinion is the following:—Considering, as he does, that the learning and argument on both sides of the subject have been nearly equal, he would rest the genuineness of the verse on the answer to the following question: ‘Which is most likely to be true, that the Arians of the fourth century, in their fury against the Church, should silently *omit* a testimony (in transcribing their copies) which, if true, destroyed their whole system; or that the general Church should directly *forge* and insert it?’

“This appears to the author to be the just mode of stating the question; but he has certainly no wish to awaken the controversy concerning this verse. If it be genuine, it is only one of the hewn stones of the temple; if it be not genuine, it is not a corner-stone.



I now am) deposited in the fort of Cochin, for safe custody, *certain tablets of brass*, on which were engraved rights of nobility, and other privileges granted by a prince of a former age; and that while these tablets were under the charge of the Portuguese, they had been unaccountably lost, and were never after heard of. Adrien Moens, a governor of Cochin, in 1770, who published some account of the Jews of Malabar, informs us that he used every means in his power, for many years, to obtain a sight of the famed Christian plates, and was at length satisfied that they were irrecoverably lost; or, rather, he adds, that *they never existed*. The learned in general, and the antiquarian in particular, will be glad to hear that these ancient tablets have been recovered within this last month by the exertions of Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay, the British resident in Travancore, and are now officially deposited with that officer.

“The Christian tablets are six in number. They are composed of a mixed metal. The engraving on the largest plate is thirteen inches long, by about four broad. They are closely written, four of them on both sides of the plate, making in all eleven pages. On the plate reputed to be the oldest, there is writing perspicuously engraved in *nail-headed* or *triangular-headed* letters, resembling the *Persepolitan* or *Babylonish*. On the same plate there is writing in another character, which is supposed to have no affinity with any existing character in Hindostan. The grant on this plate appears to be witnessed by four Jews of rank, whose names are distinctly engraved in an old Hebrew cha-

racter, resembling the alphabet called the *Palmyrene*: and to each name is prefixed the title of *Magen*, or Chief, as the Jews translated it. It may be doubted whether there exist in the world many documents of so great length, which are of equal antiquity and in such faultless preservation, as the Christian tablets of Malabar. The Jews of Cochin indeed contest the palm of antiquity; for they also produce two tablets, containing privileges granted at a remote period; of which they presented to me a Hebrew translation. As no person can be found in this country who is able to translate the Christian tablets, I have directed an engraver at Cochin to execute on copper-plates a *fac-simile* of the whole, for the purpose of transmitting copies to the learned societies in Asia and Europe. The Christian and Jewish plates together make fourteen pages. A copy was sent in the first instance to the pundits of the Shanscrit College at Trichiur, by direction of the rajah of Cochin; but they could not read the character.\* From this place I proceed to Cande-nad, to visit the bishop once more before I return to Bengal."

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"After the author left Travancore, the bishop prosecuted the translation of the Scriptures into the Malabar language without intermission, until he had

\* "Most of the manuscripts which I collected among the Syrian Christians I have presented to the University of Cambridge; and they are now deposited in the public library of that university, together with the copper-plate *fac-similes* of the Christian and Jewish tablets."

completed the New Testament. The year following, the author visited Travancore a second time, and carried the manuscript to Bombay to be printed, an excellent fount of Malabar types having been recently cast at that place. Learned natives went from Travancore to superintend the press; and it is probable that it is now nearly finished, as a copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, beautifully printed, was received in England some time ago. This version of the Scriptures will be prosecuted until the whole Bible is completed, and copies circulated throughout the Christian regions of Malabar.”\*

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“It has been further in contemplation to print an edition of the Syriac Scriptures, if the public should

\* “The author received from the Syrian Christians the names of several Christian churches in Mesopotamia and Syria with which they formerly had intercourse, and which constitute the remnant of the ancient Church of Antioch. These have, for the most part, remained in a tranquil state under Mahomedan dominion for several ages; and the author promised the Syrian bishop that he would visit them if circumstances permitted. For this purpose he intended to have returned from India to Europe by a route over land, and he had proceeded as far as Bombay for that purpose, but the French influence at the court of Persia at that time prevented him. He has it now in contemplation to make a voyage from England, and to fulfil his promise if practicable; the relations of amity subsisting between Great Britain and the Porte and Persia rendering literary researches in these regions more easy than at any former period. He proposes also to visit Jerusalem and the interior of Palestine, Greece, and the Archipelago, with the view of investigating subjects connected with the translation of the Scriptures and the extension of Christianity.”

countenance the design. This gift, it may be presumed, the English nation will be pleased to present to the Syrian Christians. We are already debtors to that ancient people. They have preserved the manuscripts of the holy Scriptures incorrupt, during a long series of ages, and have now committed them into our own hands. By their long and energetic defence of pure doctrine against anti-christian error, they are entitled to the gratitude and thanks of the rest of the Christian world. Further, they have preserved to this day the language in which our blessed Lord preached to men the glad tidings of salvation. Their Scriptures, their doctrine, their language, in short their very existence, all add something to the evidence of the truth of Christianity.

“The motives then for printing an edition of the Syriac Bible are these:—

“1. To do honour to the language which was spoken by our blessed Saviour when upon earth.

“2. To do honour to that ancient Church, which has preserved his language and his doctrine.

“3. As the means of perpetuating the true faith in the same Church for ages to come.

“4. As the means of preserving the pronunciation, and of cultivating the knowledge of the Syriac language in the East; and,

“5. As the means of reviving the knowledge of the Syriac language in our own nation.

“On the author’s return to England, he could not find one copy of the Syriac Bible in a separate volume for sale in the kingdom. He wished to send a copy to

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the Syrian bishop, as an earnest of more when an edition should be printed.

“The Syriac Bible is wanted not only by the churches of the Syrian Christians, but by the still more numerous churches of the Syro-Romish Christians in Malabar, and by the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in Persia, Armenia, and Tartary, who also use the Syriac language.”

Dr. Buchanan's testimony fully bears out the editor's subsequent experience of Roman Catholic Christianity at Gwalior. He wrote:—

“In every age of the Church of Rome, there have been individuals of an enlightened piety who derived their religion not from ‘the commandments of men,’ but from the doctrines of the Bible. There are at this day, in India and in England, members of that communion who deserve the affection and respect of all good men; and whose cultivated minds will arraign the corruptions of their own religion, which the author is about to describe, more severely than he will permit himself to do. He is indeed prepared to speak of Roman Catholics with as much liberality as perhaps any Protestant has ever attempted on Christian principles; for he is acquainted with individuals whose unaffected piety he considers a reproach to a great body of Protestants, even of the strictest sort. It is indeed painful to say anything which may seem, to feeling and noble minds, ungenerous; but those enlightened persons, whose good opinion it is desirable to preserve, will themselves be pleased to see that truth is not

sacrificed to personal respect, or to a spurious candour. Their own Church sets an example of 'plainness of speech' in the assertion of those tenets which it professes, some of which must be extremely painful to the feeling of Protestants in their social intercourse with Catholics; such as, 'that there is no salvation out of the pale of the Romish Church.'

"This exclusive character prevents concord and intimacy between Protestant and Catholic families. On the principles of infidelity they can associate very easily; but on the principles of religion the Protestant must ever be on the *defensive*; for the Romish Church excommunicates him; and although he must hope that some individuals do not maintain the tenet, yet his uncertainty as to the fact prevents that cordiality which he desires. Many excellent Catholics suffer unjustly in their intercourse with Protestants, from the ancient and exclusive articles of their own Church, which they themselves neither profess nor believe. If they will only intimate to their Protestant friends that they renounce the exclusive principle, and that they profess the religion of the Bible, no more seems requisite to form with such persons the sincerest friendship on Christian principles.

"At the present time we see the Romish religion in Europe *without* dominion; and hence it is viewed by the mere philosopher with indifference or contempt. He is pleased to see that the 'seven heads and the ten horns' are taken away; and thinks nothing of the 'names of blasphemy.' But in the following pages the author will have occasion to show what Rome is,

as *having* dominion ; and possessing it too within the boundaries of the British empire.

“ In passing through the Romish provinces in the East, though the author had before heard much of the Papal corruptions, he certainly did not expect to see Christianity in the degraded state in which he found it. Of the priests it may truly be said, that they are, in general, better acquainted with the Veda of Brahma than with the Gospel of Christ. In some places the doctrines of both are blended. At Aughoor, situated between Tritchinopoly and Madura, he visited a Christian church, and saw near it (in October, 1806) a tower of Juggernaut, which is employed in solemnizing the Christian festivals. The old priest, Josephus, accompanied him to the spot, and while he surveyed the idolatrous car and its painted figures, the priest gave him a particular account of the various ceremonies which are performed, seemingly unconscious himself of any impropriety in them. The author went with him afterwards into the church, and seeing a book lying on the altar, opened it ; but the reader may judge of his surprise, when he found it was a Syriac volume, and was informed that the priest himself was a descendant of the Syrian Christians, and belonged to what is now called the Syro-Roman Church, the whole service of which is in Syriac. Thus, by the intervention of the Papal power, are the ceremonies of Moloch consecrated in a manner by the sacred Syriac language. What a heavy responsibility lies on Rome, for having thus corrupted and degraded that pure and ancient Church !

“ While the author viewed these Christian corruptions in different places, and in different forms, he was always referred to the Inquisition at Goa, as the fountain-head. He had long cherished the hope that he should be able to visit Goa before he left India. His chief objects were the following :—

“ 1. To ascertain whether the Inquisition actually refused to recognize the Bible among the Romish churches in British India.

“ 2. To inquire into the state and jurisdiction of the Inquisition, particularly as it affected British subjects.

“ 3. To learn what was the system of education for the priesthood ; and

“ 4. To examine the ancient church libraries in Goa, which were said to contain all the books of the first printing.

“ He will select from his journal in this place chiefly what relates to the Inquisition. He had learnt from every quarter, that this tribunal, formerly so well known for its frequent burnings, was still in operation, though under some restriction as to the publicity of its proceedings ; and that its power extended to the extreme boundary of Hindostan. That in the present civilized state of Christian nations in Europe an Inquisition should exist at all under their authority, appeared strange ; but that a Papal tribunal of this character should exist under the implied toleration and countenance of the British government ; that Christians, being subjects of the British empire, and inhabiting the British territories, should be amenable to its power and jurisdiction, was a statement which seemed to be



scarcely credible; but if true, a fact which demanded the most public and solemn representation."

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"On my arrival at Goa (Convent of the Augustinians, Jan. 23, 1808), I was received into the house of Captain Schuyler, the British resident. The British force here is commanded by Colonel Adams, of his Majesty's 78th regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal.\* Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the viceroy of Goa, the Count de Cabral. I intimated to his Excellency my wish to sail up the river to Old Goa† (where the Inquisition is), to which he politely acceded. Major Pareira, of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had letters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and to introduce me to the archbishop of Goa, the primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to Colonel Adams and to the British resident my purpose of inquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me

\* "The forts in the harbour of Goa were then occupied by British troops (two king's regiments, and two regiments of native infantry) to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.

† "There is Old and New Goa. The old city is about eight miles up the river. The viceroy and the chief Portuguese inhabitants reside at New Goa, which is at the mouth of the river, within the forts of the harbour. The old city, where the Inquisition and the churches are, is now almost entirely deserted by the secular Portuguese, and is inhabited by the priests alone. The unhealthiness of the place, and the ascendancy of the priests, are the causes assigned for abandoning the ancient city.

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that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty, since everything relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on any subject.

"On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests, whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.\*

"It happened that Lieutenant Kempthorne, commander of his Majesty's brig *Diana*, a distant connection of my own, was at this time in the harbour. On his learning that I meant to visit Old Goa, he offered to accompany me; as did Captain Stirling, of his Majesty's 84th regiment, which is now stationed at the forts.

"We proceeded up the river in the British resident's barge, accompanied by Major Pareira, who was well qualified by a thirty years' residence to give informa-

\* "I was informed that the viceroy of Goa has no authority over the Inquisition, and that he himself is liable to its censure. Were the British government, for instance, to prefer a complaint against the Inquisition to the Portuguese government at Goa, it could obtain no redress. By the very constitution of the Inquisition, there is no power in India which can invade its jurisdiction, or even put a question to it on any subject.

tion concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand priests.

"On our arrival at the city\* it was past twelve o'clock: all the churches were shut, and we were told that they would not be opened again till two o'clock. I mentioned to Major Pareira that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days, and that I should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep anywhere; I had two servants with me, and a travelling-bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninhabited, and which was then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance, and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place. In the mean time we sat down in the room I have just

\* "We entered the city by the palace gate, over which is the statue of Vasco de Gama, who first opened India to the view of Europe. I had seen at Calicut, a few weeks before, the ruins of the Samorin's palace, in which Vasco de Gama was first received. The Samorin was the first native prince against whom the Europeans made war. The empire of the Samorin has passed away; and the empire of his conquerors has passed away; and now imperial Britain exercises dominion. May imperial Britain be prepared to give a good account of her stewardship when it shall be said unto her, 'Thou mayst be no longer steward!'

mentioned, to take some refreshment, while Major Pereira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval, I communicated to Lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket 'Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa,'\* and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell began to toll; the same which Dellon observes always tolls, before daylight, on the morning of the *auto-da-fé*. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the Inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made inquiries for me, and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or Holy Office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion, and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenance of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

"At two o'clock we went out to view the churches, which were now open for the afternoon service; for there are regular daily masses; and the bells began to assail the ear in every quarter.

"The magnificence of the churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous

\* "Monsieur Dellon, a physician, was imprisoned in the dungeon of the Inquisition at Goa for two years, and witnessed an *auto-da-fé*, when some heretics were burned, at which he walked barefoot. After his release he wrote the history of his confinement. His descriptions are in general very accurate.

description. Goa is properly a city of churches ; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their erection. The ancient specimens of architecture at this place far excel anything that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the East, both in grandeur and in taste. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome, and is said to be an accurate model of that paragon of architecture. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe ; and the church and convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.

"But what a contrast to all this grandeur of the churches is the worship offered within ! I have been present at the service in one or other of the chapels every day since I arrived ; and I seldom see a single worshipper, but the ecclesiastics. Two rows of native priests, kneeling in order before the altar, clothed in coarse black garments, of sickly appearance, and vacant countenance, perform here, from day to day, their laborious masses, seemingly unconscious of any other duty or obligation of life.

"The day was now far spent, and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a priest, high in office,

and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Joseph à Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented the aspect of one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian Jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of that order, reposing in tranquil obscurity, in different parts of the East. After half an hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and inquired concerning some learned men of his own Church, whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him during my stay at Old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation; but Lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the Inquisitor; for, judge of our surprise, when we discovered that my learned host was one of the Inquisitors of the Holy Office, the second member of that august tribunal in rank, but the first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the college adjoining the convent, next to the rooms of the Inquisitor himself; and here I have been now four days, at the very fountain-head of information, in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the Inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he considers my

inquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

"Next day after my arrival, I was introduced by my learned conductor to the archbishop of Goa. We found him reading the Latin letters of St. Francis Xavier. On my adverting to the long duration of the city of Goa, while other cities of Europeans in India had suffered from war or revolution, the archbishop observed that the preservation of Goa was owing to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier. The Inquisitor looked at me to see what I thought of this sentiment. I acknowledged that Xavier was considered by the learned among the English to have been a great man: what he wrote himself bespeaks him a man of learning, of original genius, and great fortitude of mind; but what others have written for him, and of him, tarnished his fame, by making him the inventor of fables. The archbishop signified his assent. He afterwards conducted me into his private chapel, which is decorated with images of silver; and then into the archiepiscopal library, which possesses a valuable collection of books. As I passed through our convent, in returning from the archbishop's, I observed, among the paintings in the cloisters, a portrait of the famous Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who held the synod of Diamper, near Cochin, in 1599, and burned the books of the Syrian Christians. From the inscription underneath I learned that he was the founder of the magnificent church and convent in which I am now residing.

"On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief Inquisitor, at his house in the country.

The second Inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable company of priests, and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief Inquisitor I saw a register, containing the present establishment of the Inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On my asking the chief Inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the Inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the Inquisitors themselves, but from certain priests, whom I visited at their respective convents; particularly from a father in the Franciscan convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an *auto-da-fé*."

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"On Sunday, after divine service, which I attended (at Goa, Augustinian Convent, 26th Jan. 1808), we looked over together the prayers and portions of Scripture for the day, which led to a discussion concerning some of the doctrines of Christianity. We then read the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, in the Latin Vulgate. I asked the Inquisitor whether he believed in the influence in the spirit there spoken of. He distinctly admitted it; conjointly, however, he thought, in some obscure sense, with water. I observed that water was merely an emblem of the purifying effects of the Spirit, and could be but an emblem. We next adverted to the expression of St. John, in his first Epistle: 'This is he that came by water and blood; even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water



and blood,—blood to atone for sin, and water to purify the heart ; justification and sanctification,—both of which were expressed at the same moment on the cross.’ The Inquisitor was pleased with the subject. By an easy transition we passed to the importance of the Bible itself, to illuminate the priests and people. I noticed to him that, after looking through the colleges and schools, there appeared to me to be a total eclipse of Scriptural light. He acknowledged that religion and learning were truly in a degraded state.—I had visited the theological schools, and at every place I expressed my surprise to the tutors, in presence of the pupils, at the absence of the Bible, and almost total want of reference to it. They pleaded the custom of the place, and the scarcity of copies of the book itself. Some of the younger priests came to me afterwards, desiring to know by what means they might procure copies. This inquiry for Bibles was like a ray of hope beaming on the walls of the Inquisition.

“ I pass an hour sometimes in the spacious library of the Augustinian Convent, and think myself suddenly transported into one of the libraries of Cambridge. There are many rare volumes ; but they are chiefly theological, and almost all of the sixteenth century. There are few classics, and I have not yet seen one copy of the original Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek.

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“ On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the Inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in black robes from head to foot, for

the usual dress of the order is white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the Holy Office. 'I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time?'—'Yes,' answered he, 'much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.'

"I had thought, for some days, of putting Dellon's book into the Inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation, I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness; he turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent, '*Mendacium, mendacium!*' I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other

books on the subject. 'Other books?' said he, and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"It was on this night that a circumstance happened which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber-door, in the long gallery which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was awaked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror from some person in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the *alguazils* of the Holy Office seizing my servants to carry them to the Inquisition; but, on going out, I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm (a boy of about fourteen) at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning at breakfast the Inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a *phantasma animi* (a phantasm of the imagination).

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the *auto-da-fé* were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the Inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy Church; and I admitted that,

under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The Inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies,' together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the *auto-da-fé*. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to show that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.\*

\* "The following were the passages in Mr. Dellon's narrative to which I wished particularly to draw the attention of the Inquisitor:—'Mr. D. had been thrown into the Inquisition at Goa, and confined in a dungeon ten feet square, where he remained upwards of two years, without seeing any person but the gaoler who brought him his victuals, except when he was brought to his trial, expecting daily to be brought to the stake. His alleged crime was charging the Inquisition with cruelty, in a conversation he had with a priest at Daman, a Portuguese town in another part of India.

"During the months of November and December I heard every morning the shrieks of the unfortunate victims who were undergoing the *question*. I remembered to have heard, before I was cast into prison, that the *auto-da-fé* was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because on that day is read in the churches that part of the Gospel in which mention is made of the last judgment; and the Inquisitors pretend by this ceremony to exhibit a lively emblem of that awful event. I was likewise convinced that there were a great number of prisoners besides myself; the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of meals. However, the first and second Sundays of Advent passed by without my hearing of anything, and I prepared to undergo

"I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the Inquisition of Goa was suppressed by royal edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1779. The Franciscan father before mentioned wit-

another year of melancholy captivity, when I was aroused from my despair on the 11th of January by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the door of my prison. The Alcaide presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to make myself ready to attend him when he should come again. Thus saying, he left a lighted lamp in my dungeon. The guards returned about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate drawn up in a rank against a wall: I placed myself among the rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band. The profound silence and stillness caused them to resemble statues more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were clothed in a similar manner, were placed in a neighbouring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves at some distance, attended by others, who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were; but I was afterwards informed that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burned, and the others were their confessors.

"After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we received each a large wax taper. They then brought us a number of dresses made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. This is called the *San Benito*. The relapsed heretics wear another species of robe, called the *Samarra*, the ground of which is grey. The portrait of the sufferer is painted upon it, placed upon burning torches with flames and demons all round. Caps were then produced called *carrochas*, made of pasteboard, pointed like sugar-loaves, all covered over with devils and flames of fire.

"The great bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, which served as a signal to warn the people of Goa to come and behold the august ceremony of the *auto-da-fé*; and then they made us proceed from the gallery one by one. I remarked, as we passed into the great hall, that the Inquisitor was sitting at the door with his secretary by him, and that he delivered every prisoner into the hands of a particular person, who is to be his guard to the place of burning. These persons are

nessed the annual *auto-da-fé* from 1770 to 1775. 'It was the humanity and tender mercy of a good king,' said the old father, 'which abolished the Inquisition.' But immediately on his death the power of the priests

called *parrains*, or godfathers. My godfather was the commander of a ship. I went forth with him, and as soon as we were in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominican friars, who have this honour because St. Dominic founded the Inquisition. These are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, each having his godfather by his side, and a lighted taper in his hand. The least guilty go foremost; and as I did not pass for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me. The women were mixed promiscuously with the men. We all walked barefoot, and the sharp stones of the streets of Goa wounded my tender feet, and caused the blood to stream: for they made us march through the chief streets of the city; and we were regarded everywhere by an innumerable crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts of India to behold this spectacle; for the Inquisition takes care to announce it long before, in the most remote parishes. At length we arrived at the church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the act of faith. On one side of the altar was the grand Inquisitor and his counsellors; and on the other the viceroy of Goa and his court. All the prisoners are seated to hear a sermon. I observed that those prisoners who wore the horrible *Carrochas* came last in the procession. One of the Augustin monks ascended the pulpit and preached for a quarter of an hour. The sermon being concluded, two readers went up to the pulpit, one after the other, and read the sentences of the prisoners. My joy was extreme when I heard that my sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years. After the sentences were read, they summoned forth those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the holy Inquisition. The images of the heretics who had died in prison were brought up at the same time, their bones being contained in small chests, covered with flames and demons. An officer of the secular tribunal now came forward, and seized these unhappy people, after they had each received a slight blow upon the breast from the Alcaide, to intimate that they were abandoned. They were then led away to the bank of the river, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the fagots had been prepared the preceding day. As

acquired the ascendant under the queen-dowager, and the tribunal was re-established after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in operation ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following :—‘That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary;’ and, ‘That the *auto-da-fé* should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately within the walls of the Inquisition.’

“In this particular, the constitution of the new Inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for, as the old father expressed it, ‘*Nunc sigillum non revelat Inquisitio.*’ Formerly the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year walking in the procession of the *auto-da-fé*; or if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning for years whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new mode of concealment

soon as they arrive at this place, the condemned persons are asked in what religion they choose to die; and the moment they have replied to this question, the executioner seizes them and binds them to a stake in the midst of the fagots. The day after the execution, the portraits of the dead are carried to the church of the Dominicans. The heads only are represented (which are generally very accurately drawn, for the Inquisition keeps excellent limners for the purpose), surrounded by flames and demons; and underneath is the name and crime of the person who has been burned.’—*Relation de l’Inquisition de Goa*, chap. xxiv.

appears to be this, to preserve the power of the Inquisition ; and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings in the presence of British dominion and civilization. I asked the father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer ; that everything transacted there was declared to be *sacrum et secretum*. But this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the dungeons ; that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added that, of all the persons he had known who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him what might be called ‘ the mark of the Inquisition ; ’ that is to say, who did not show in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanour, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

“ The chief argument of the Inquisitor to prove the amelioration of the Inquisition was the superior humanity of the Inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers ; but what availed humanity in an Inquisitor ? he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough ; and a *relapsed heretic* must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the Inquisitor be humane or not. ‘ But if,’ said I, ‘ you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, show me the Inquisition.’ He said it was not permitted to any person to see the Inquisition. I observed that



mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of the Inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more upon that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the Inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the Inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the Inquisition the next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the Inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind."

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"When I left the Forts to come up to the Inquisition (Augustinian Convent, January 28, 1808), Colonel Adams desired me to write to him; and he added, half-way between jest and earnest, 'If I do not hear from you in three days, I shall march down the 78th and storm the Inquisition.' This I promised to do. But, having been so well entertained by the Inquisitor, I forgot my promise. Accordingly, on the day before

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yesterday, I was surprised by a visit from Major Braam-camp, aide-de-camp to his Excellency the Viceroy, bearing a letter from Colonel Adams, and a message from the Viceroy, proposing that I should return every evening and sleep at the Forts, on account of the unhealthiness of Goa.

"This morning after breakfast my host went to dress for the holy office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time, for the purpose of showing me the Inquisition. I thought that his countenance was more severe than usual; and that his attendants were not so civil as before. The truth was, the midnight scene was still on my mind. The Inquisition is about a quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our *manjeels*.\* On our arrival at the place, the Inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

"He led me first to the great hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well-dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars and attendants of the holy office. They

\* "The *manjeel* is a kind of palankeen common at Goa. It is merely a sea cot suspended from a bamboo, which is borne on the heads of four men. Sometimes a footman runs before, having a staff in his hand, to which are attached little bells or rings, which he jingles as he runs, keeping time with the motion of the bearers.

bowed very low to the Inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the *auto-da-fé*. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the Inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, 'Would not the holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.'—'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the Inquisitor from the beginning to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated by my importunity. I intimated to

him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British Government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture; and declare what modes of execution or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public *auto-da-fé*. If after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.' To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply; but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition after having seen the interior), and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased then merely to answer this question, for I shall

believe your word :—How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the Inquisition?’ The Inquisitor replied, ‘That is a question which I cannot answer.’ On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

“ From the Inquisition I went to the place of burning, in the Camp Santo Lazaro, on the river-side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the *auto-da-fé*. It is close to the palace, that the Viceroy and his Court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the Inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the State. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place, and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands before the heralds of the Gospel of Peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The Inquisitors were now sitting on

the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning ; for I was to receive from the chief Inquisitor a letter, which he said he would give me before I left the place, for the British Resident in Travancore,\* being an answer to a letter from that officer.

“ When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtfully, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the Inquisitor. I entered the great hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form and wrote some notes, and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the Inquisitor. As I walked up the hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the Inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second Inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion ; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief Inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa ; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman, I pointed to her, and said to him with some emphasis, ‘ Behold, father, another victim of the

\* “ Colonel Macaulay, who is now in England.

holy Inquisition!’ He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed, and I took my last leave of Josephus à Doloribus, without uttering a word.

“It will be well understood for what purpose the foregoing particulars concerning the Inquisition at Goa are rehearsed in the ears of the British nation. ‘The Romans,’ says Montesquieu, ‘deserve well of human nature, for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from *sacrificing* their *children* to their gods.’ It has been observed by respectable writers, that the English nation ought to imitate this example, and endeavour to induce her allies ‘to abolish the human sacrifices of the Inquisition;’ and a censure has been passed on our Government for its indifference to this subject.\* The indifference to the Inquisition is attributable, we believe, to the same cause which has produced an indifference to the religious principles which first organized the Inquisition. The mighty despot who suppressed the Inquisition in Spain, was not swayed probably by very powerful motives of humanity; but viewed with jealousy a tribunal which usurped an independent dominion; and he put it down, on the same principle that he put down the popedom, that he might remain pontiff and grand Inquisitor himself. And so he will remain for a time, till the purposes of Providence shall have been accomplished by him. But are we to look on in silence, and to expect that further ameliorations in human society

\* “Edinburgh Review, No. xxxii. p. 449.

are to be effected by despotism, or by great revolutions? 'If,' say the same authors, 'while the Inquisition is destroyed in Europe by the power of despotism, we could entertain the hope—and it is not too much to entertain such a hope—that the power of liberty is about to destroy it in America, we might, even amid the gloom that surrounds us, congratulate our fellow-creatures on one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the progress of human society, *the final erasure of the Inquisition from the face of the earth.*'\* It will indeed be an important and happy day to the earth, when this final erasure shall take place; but the period of such an event is nearer, I apprehend, in Europe and America, than it is in Asia; and its termination in Asia depends as much on Great Britain as on Portugal. And shall not Great Britain do her part to hasten this desirable time? Do we wait as if to see whether the power of infidelity will abolish the other Inquisitions of the earth? Shall not we, in the mean while, attempt to do something, on Christian principles, for the honour of God and of humanity? Do we dread even to express a sentiment on the subject in our legislative assemblies, or to notice it in our treaties? It is surely our duty to declare our wishes, at least, for the abolition of these inhuman tribunals (since we take an active part in promoting the welfare of other nations), and to deliver our testimony against them in the presence of Europe.

"This case is not unlike that of the immolation of

\* "Edinburgh Review, No. xxxii. p. 429.



that they will gladly receive copies of the Latin and Portuguese Vulgate Bible from the hands of the English nation."

The first record that we have of the hatred borne to Christians by Mussulmans, exhibited in India, has been preserved by Dr. Buchanan.

To be persecuted by the world, while unforsaken of God, was then, as it had been before, the lot of Christ's Church; and therefore we are not surprised to find that the Syrian Church had outlived, at the time of Dr. Buchanan's visit, the persecutions of the Mahommedans for nearly 800 years, during which time they had held almost absolute dominion in India, since in the year 999 Mahmoud of Ghuznee conquered India, and his aggressive expeditions ended in the domination of Mussulman authority from the west of the Ganges to the province of Guzerat.

From this time (the commencement of the 11th century) to the middle of the 18th (or 1750), the power of these invaders augmented, and the whole continent gradually fell under their yoke, the government of the various provinces being vested in Nawabs. These Nawabs exercised sovereign control, with a

reservation of obedience or fealty to the supreme power of the Great Mogul, who reigned in absolute despotism at Delhi. In *these conquests and political aggrandizements no European power*, however, took the slightest share; and as the first introduction of England as a nation to India arose out of commercial operations, it may be worth while to trace, though briefly, the extent to which these relations had been carried by other countries, previously, with India.

We have seen how industriously the Tyrians carried on their trade; and the Egyptians and Romans were not less zealous in sending their vessels down, by way of the Red Sea, to the coast of Malabar. The trade carried on by the Egyptians at length fell into the hands of the Saracens, who made efforts to extend their trade. Now, the Saracens had no dealings with Europeans, and they therefore closed the port of Alexandria against the Christian trader, and preferred to transmit their return cargoes to Constantinople, through Asiatic Turkey and the Black Sea.

In this way Constantinople became the great mart of East-India and China produce, for

the Saracens had extended their trade to the Eastern Archipelago, Siam, and China. Thus the Mahommedan power not only held territorial sway in India, but indirectly reaped advantages from the commercial enterprises of other nations, whose merchants used Constantinople as a port. Even the antipathy, however, which has ever existed on the part of the Mahommedans towards Christians at length yielded to the stronger feeling of avarice in the minds of the Caliphs, and at last a traffic was commenced which both gave to Christians the long-coveted possession of the products and manufactures of the East, and also brought to Mussulmans some of the wealth of Western Europe. Soon, however, the Crusades, which gave territorial possession in Southern Europe, by another step changed expeditions, originally of a religious nature, into commercial enterprises. Either through the agency of the sword or by treaty, the Italians relieved the Saracens of their trade, and the port of Alexandria was reopened to the ships of the Mediterranean. Florence, Genoa, and Venice had this monopoly to themselves for some time; but Venice deputed an ambassador to

India, with the view ostensibly of opening other ports ; but they really wished to obtain the exclusive right to trade ; and having carried their point, they soon exercised immense influence over their outwitted neighbours. When, by the destruction of Constantinople, the trade of the Genoese diminished, and with their trade Genoa itself declined, the Venetians were masters of the market, to the entire exclusion of the Greeks.

We have, doubtless, watched with anxious eye the steps by which Venice had ascended, and therefore shall not be surprised to find that, in looking down from the height that had been thus gained, she caught the hostile glance of the jealous eyes of every surrounding nation.

The Germans, the Spaniards, and the Dutch were among the highest bidders for permission to share this commerce ; but diplomacy and gold proved alike unavailing to dislodge the Venetians, who kept on good terms with the rulers of Egypt and Syria.

But while man proposes, God disposes ; and He often makes men, when they least expect it, instruments of His will. Christopher Co-

lumbus had discovered America, and the Portuguese had found a way to India, without troubling themselves about Egypt or Syria,—and this way was the Cape of Good Hope.

At the close of the fifteenth century, or at latest in the first year of the sixteenth, the Portuguese sent an ambassador to India to discover the source from which the riches of the Venetians had been drawn. The mission was entirely successful; for not only did the ambassador discover that source, but he obtained by treaty the right of way to India, which the Venetians had so long enjoyed alone. The Portuguese lost no time in availing themselves of the opportunities thus gained: fleets were fitted out and made their way to every port in India; quarrels were promptly picked with the natives, who were dispossessed of several places on the coast of Malabar. The islands between Madagascar and the Moluccas, and Ormus in the Persian Gulf, were seized; but the Pope, by confirming the prior right of the Portuguese to the discovery, checked for a long time most happily the energy and spirit of rivalry of other Roman Catholic states.

These events woke up the Venetians; but,

although they were assisted by the Mameluke government of Egypt and befriended by the sultan, they found in their turn that the Portuguese had gained a pretty fair opinion of the prize they possessed ; and, moreover, that they intended to do their best to keep it.

They therefore set to work to defend their possessions most resolutely ; and having also secured their acquisitions in the Persian Gulf from their enemies in the Red Sea, they glutted Europe with the products of the East, at a cost which on the one hand drove the Venetians from the market, and on the other reduced the temptation to other nations, of entering it. Thus they were allowed to hold the trade of India for more than a century, almost unmolested.

The prior right of discovery, however, which it pleased his Holiness the Pope to confirm, could not render that priority exclusive ; and hence we find that the maritime power of the Dutch sought an outlet for its energy, and their ships' eyes fell on India.

Had the Pope been able to confer an exclusive right, what follows would not have happened to India, for England, free from

religious strife, with diligent hand in Elizabeth's life, looked about to extend her commerce with the world,—and her kind blue eye fell on India.

The distinctive features of the two religions were reflected in this commercial contest for trade with India, and the motto of the enlightened Christian, “not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord,” was exemplified in our dealings; and hence our arrival there was the signal for the decline of the Roman Catholic influence.

The Portuguese, too, had made to themselves enemies of the people of the land; for, conscious of their power, they had used great oppression, and therefore the natives were only too glad to see England's banner wave, if only as a rival's check to the power of these settlers.

England has never been in a better condition to fight than when a Queen has held the sceptre; and you will therefore not be surprised to find that the English in India at that time began to fight with these old settlers. The contest concluded with the usual result, our success, and the commercial and almost national annihilation of the Portuguese in

India. In a very short time a company was formed, who monopolized the trade with India; factories were built, and trade was carried on, with the full consent of the various potentates of India.

Well, Government wanted money, and therefore farmed out India to a second company; but as these two quarrelled, and the destruction of both seemed the end which each proposed, a union of the two was wisely brought about, in the first or second year of the eighteenth century.

Thus at this time Holland had one company, and England another, formed by the union of the two which fell out together. The French had thus had their attention aroused, and at length they formed a company; vessels were despatched, and permission was obtained to open agencies in Chandenagore and Pondicherry. England, France, and Holland jointly shared the advantages of this trade; for the Danes and Spaniards took comparatively little interest in the enterprise, which opposition had now rekindled. The three former-named powers therefore conveyed to their fellow-countrymen of the Western world the products and manufactures of the East.



The year before the Nabob of Arcot died had been signalized by contentions among these traders, and commerce gave way for a time, and yielded to the sword and to the pen.

The Nabob had no sooner died, than the succession of his son was disputed by a cousin, one Muzuffer Jung by name. The cousin applied to the French in India for assistance, which was promptly afforded; and the son, the rightful heir to the throne, sought assistance from the English. Major Lawrence, in the year 1747, being then in command of the British troops in the Carnatic, boldly drew his sword; and from that day to this England has been a conquering nation in India,—power after power has retired at the sight of her bayonets, native troops have fled to escape the edge of the sword, *the cruel governments of the dark places of the earth have been blotted out and righteous ones have been raised on their ruins*; so that with all the short-comings of our Anglo-Indian rulers, which we do not deny, the natives of the country have derived infinite benefit from our success.

At this juncture the Governments at home, both in England and in France, volunteered

help, and very wisely left their commanders-in-chief unfettered. Indeed, it may very well be doubted whether much of the disaster which has now occurred might not have been avoided if the Government in this country had always, in Indian affairs, kept up the distinction, so difficult to be maintained, *between assistance and interference*. Reinforcements for service by land and by sea were despatched, and the issue was fairly contested. In little more than ten years from the first outbreak, the French and Muzuffer Jung suffered an honourable, though a decisive, defeat, and in 1757 our power was established ; but only that we might be taught, in 1857, how fragile all power must be when administered and exercised as though it had not sprung from God.

Of course at this time the rulers of the Deccan and the Carnatic, and throughout the length and breadth of India, beheld, with feelings of anger and dismay, the growth of our power, and plotted for its overthrow. No doubt the prediction was at that time made by the priests of the false prophet that our rule would last only one hundred years, and the prediction was uttered in

a spirit which makes it evident that they have since striven to bring about its fulfilment.

The representatives of England, France, and Holland, while pursuing their traffic and amassing much wealth, had found that it would be necessary to protect their lives and property, in the event of any popular outbreak by the natives, or in anticipation of foreign invasion. On the occasion of a feud between some rajahs, in 1696, west of the Hooghly, the owners of the factories declared for the stronger side, and therefore the Nabob allowed them to increase their soldiery, and to place their settlements in a state of defence. The Dutch thus held a fortified place at Hooghly, the French one at Chandenagore, and the English had Fort William.

The subsequent history of the uses of Fort William are detailed in the following extracts from Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches," and the editor ventures the remark that, had Dr. Buchanan been permitted to proceed with his work, the most effectual means would have been taken of consolidating our empire in India, by spreading abroad among the people

the knowledge of the Word of Peace and Reconciliation :—

“In the college of Fort William, in Bengal, there was a department for translating the Scriptures into the Oriental languages; and, so early as 1805 (the fifth year of its institution), a commencement had been made in five languages. The first version of any of the Gospels in the Persian and Hindostanee tongues, which were printed in India, issued from the press of the college of Fort William. The Persian was superintended by Lieut.-Colonel Colebrooke, and the Hindostanee by William Hunter, Esq. The Gospels were translated into the Malay language by Thomas Jarrett, Esq., of the civil service. The principal Oriental translator, in the Persian department, was Mirza Fitrut, a native of the dominions of the Great Moghul; and the head translator, in the Hindu department, was Meer Buhador Ulee, a Hindu.

“The college was founded on the 4th of May, 1800. After it had flourished for almost seven years, during which period it produced nearly one hundred volumes in Oriental literature,\* the Court of Directors resolved on reducing the establishment within narrower limits, on the 1st of January, 1807. In consequence of this measure, the translations of the Scriptures and some other literary works were suspended.†

\* “See ‘First Four Years of the College of Fort William,’ p. 219. Cadell and Davies.

† “ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.—Marquis Wellesley, Visitor; Rev. David Brown, Provost; Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Vice-Provost. “MEM-

"As this event had been long expected, the provost and vice-provost of the college, who were sensible of the importance of restoring sacred learning to the East, had begun some time before to consider of the means by which that benefit might yet be secured. Much expense had already been incurred. Many learned natives had come from remote regions to Calcutta, whose services could not be easily replaced; and who never could have been assembled, but by the influence of the supreme government, as exerted by the Marquis Wellesley. The Court of Directors were probably not fully aware of the importance of the literary works then carrying on (although, indeed, their objection was not so much to the utility, as to the expense of the institution), and it was believed that a time would come, when they would be happy to think that these works had not been permitted to fall to the ground. It was not, however, their causing the expense to cease which was the chief source of regret; but that the *unity* of the undertaking was now destroyed. The college of

**"MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE COUNCIL.**—The Provost and Vice-Provost; the Hon. Henry Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, Bart.; J. H. Colebrooke, Esq., and J. H. Harington, Esq.

"Charles Rolhman, Esq., Secretary to the College Council.

**"PROFESSORS.**—*Shanscrit*: J. H. Colebrooke, Esq. *Persian*: Francis Gladwin, Esq.; N. B. Edmonstone, Esq.; Matthew Lumsden, Esq. *Arabic*: Capt. John Baillie. *Hindustanee*: John Gilchrist, Esq.; Capt. James Mouat, Lieut. Macdougall. *Bengalee*: Rev. W. Carey. *Tamul*: Rev. N. Pæzold. *Laws and Regulations of the Company*: J. H. Harington, Esq. *Greek and Latin Classics*: Rev. C. Buchanan. *Mathematics*: Dr. James Dinwiddie. *French*: Mr. Du Plessy. *Examiner in Persian and Hindostanee*: W. Hunter, Esq., M.D.

**"NATIVE TEACHERS.**—Pundits, Moulvees, and Moonshes, fifty and upwards.

Fort William had been identified with the Church of England; and, under that character, had extended a liberal patronage to all learned men who could promote the translation of the Scriptures. But now these translations being no longer subject to its revision, its responsibility would also cease.\*

\* "It will be gratifying to the public to learn that the college of Fort William is now in a flourishing state, and has received the final sanction and patronage of the East-India Company. It owes much to the cultivated mind and liberal spirit of Lord Minto, the present Governor-General of India. His lordship had not been many months in that country, before he perceived its importance in relation to the interests of the British empire in the East; and his annual speeches at the public disputations show that he thinks the college of Fort William deserves as much attention and support as any department under his government. It will be yet more gratifying to many to hear that this institution is likely to become once more a fountain of translation for the sacred Scriptures. Dr. Leyden, Professor of the Hindostanee language, has come forward (March, 1810) with a proposal to superintend the translation of the Scriptures into seven languages, hitherto little cultivated in India. This subject will be noticed hereafter.

"It was expected that the East-India college at Hertford would eventually supersede the college in Bengal; but it has been proved, that in order to give efficiency to the purposes of a college at home, there must be also a college abroad. Little more than the elements of the Oriental languages can be conveniently learnt in England. But this elementary labour at home is doubtless so much time saved in India. And thus far the institution at Hertford, independently of its other objects, is highly useful in subserviency to the college of Fort William. The two institutions combine the primary idea of Marquis Wellesley; and the expense is not less than that statesman had originally intended. There is this difference in the execution, that there are now two institutions instead of one. His lordship proposed that the two institutions should be in India, combined in one; and his reasons were, that the organs of speech in youth are more flexible at an early age for learning a new language; and that the constitution of young persons assimilates more easily to a strange climate. There are various advantages,

“Under these circumstances the superintendents of the college resolved to encourage individuals to proceed with their versions by such means as they could command; and to trust to the contributions of the public, and to the future sanction of the Government, for the perpetuity of the design. They purposed, at the same time, not to confine the undertaking to Bengal alone, or to the territories of the Company; but to extend it to every part of the East, where fit instruments for translation could be found. With this view, they aided the designs of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, of the Lutheran missionaries in Coromandel, belonging to the ‘Society for promoting Christian Knowledge,’ and of the other missionaries in the East, connected with societies in England and Scotland; and also patronized those Roman Catholic missionaries in the south of India whom they found qualified for conducting useful works. About the same period they exerted themselves in circulating proposals for the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages, by the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, and in promoting subscriptions for that object by all the means in their power; and when it was proposed to the Governor-General (Lord Minto, then just arrived) to suppress this mission, a memorial was addressed to the Government in its behalf.

“In order to obtain a distinct view of the state of Christianity and of superstition in Asia, the super-

however, in having the elementary institution at home, which may counterbalance these reasons; and if it continue to be conducted with the same spirit and effect which have hitherto distinguished it, I think that the present plan is preferable.

intendents of the college had, before this period, entered into correspondence with intelligent persons in different countries; and from every quarter (even from the confines of China) they received encouragement to proceed. But, as contradictory accounts were given by different writers concerning the real state of the numerous tribes in India both of Christians and natives, the author conceived the design of devoting the last year or two of his residence in the East to purposes of local examination and inquiry. With this view, he travelled through the peninsula of India by land, from Calcutta to Cape Comorin, a continent extending through fourteen degrees of latitude, and visited Ceylon thrice. And he soon discovered that a person may reside all his life in Bengal, and yet know almost as little of other countries in India; for instance, of Travancore, Ceylon, Goa, or Madura, of their manners, customs, habits, and religion, as if he had never left England.\* The principal objects of this tour were to investigate the state of superstition at the most celebrated temples of the Hindoos; to examine the churches and libraries of the Romish, Syrian, and Protestant Christians, to ascertain the present state and recent history of the Jews in the East, and to discover what persons might be fit instruments for the promotion of learning in their respective countries, and for maintaining a future correspondence on the subject of disseminating the Scriptures in India.

\* "Of the books published in Britain on the discussion relating to missions and the state of India, the most sensible and authentic are, in general, those written by learned men of the Universities who have never been in the East.



In pursuance of these objects, the author visited Cuttack, Ganjam, Visagapatam, Samulcotta, Rajamundry, Ellore, Ongole, Nellore, Madras, Mailapoor, Pondicherry, Cudalore, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Aughoor, Madura, Palamcotta, Ramnad, Jaffnapatam, Columbo, Manaar, Tutecorin, Angengo, Quilon, Cochin, Cranganor, Verapoli, Calicut, Tellichery, Goa, the Pirate coast, and other places between Cape Comorin and Bombay; the interior of Travancore, and the interior of Malabar; also seven principal temples of the Hindoos, viz. Seemachalum, in the Telinga country, Chillumbrum, Seringham, Madura, Ramisseram, Elephantia, and Juggernaut.

“After this tour, the author returned to Calcutta, where he remained about three quarters of a year longer; and then visited the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Malabar and Travancore a second time before his return to England.

“Those nations or communities for whom translations of the Scriptures have been commenced, under the patronage or direction already alluded to, are the following:—the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Cingalese or Ceylonese, the Malays, the Syrian Christians, the Romish Christians, the Persians, the Arabians, and the Jews. Of these it is proposed to give some account in their order.”

Now mark, from about the commencement of Queen Anne's reign, how an all-wise God has overruled the passions of men, and made war itself the pioneer of the Gospel. It has

been prophesied by the Psalmist of the heathen, who have been promised to Christ as his inheritance : "Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

We have now before us three nations from which God would choose his instruments to fulfil his purposes of love towards the benighted millions of Hindostan. *Need I say that England was the nation whom God selected?* And their mission appears to have been ushered in by a tragedy of unparalleled atrocity, on the part of the natives, towards the English resident in Bengal. The British, however, are supposed to have abused their power ; they also protected a man of rank from the vengeance of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, who, thus offended, marched against Calcutta with 50,000 men ; the greater part of the garrison escaped, but those who had not been able to do so, were immured in the Black Hole in Fort William ; in which dungeon 123 out of 146 before the next morning were smothered to death. The English seemed now to be extinguished ! Admiral Watson, however, sailed for Calcutta, and with him

some troops under Colonel Clive. Calcutta was reduced; the tide was turned against the native powers, and the presidency of Calcutta was not only restored, but it was enlarged; and hence our first extension of territorial possession in India. The victorious English then fought the French, and Chandernagore became a British possession. Suraj-ud-Dowlah tried to evade the treaty, and Clive took this opportunity of meeting him at Plassy: 68,000 troops were marshalled against Clive's 3,000; but the battle was again ours, or rather it was the Lord's: the chief was put to death, the sum of two millions and three-quarters was paid to the English, and with it an enlargement of territory was permitted.

During the American war, the French lost all their settlements in India. Hyder Ali—a prototype of Nana Sahib, a political adventurer, and a soldier of immense fortune—undertook the formation of alliances for our overthrow; and, as will be seen, he proved a formidable and skilful leader. He threatened the safety of Madras, wasted our possessions with fire and sword, captured some forts, and dispossessed us of several portions of territory;

compelling a large British force to lay down their arms; and when they had done so, *no doubt under a promise that mercy would be shown them, the wretch massacred nearly every man.*

This Hyder Ali gave us much trouble for a period of about fifteen years, and the difficulty we had in dealing with him was increased very greatly by the aid which he received from the French, who now rendered it very heartily, in consequence of the war which, meanwhile, had arisen between the English and French in Europe. At length, however, preliminaries of peace having been signed at Fontainebleau, in 1762, Hyder Ali was left more to his own resources. Not only did he go on contending, but at his death, in 1782, Tippoo Saib, his son, continued a harassing war against the English. In the tenth year of his reign (1792), Lord Cornwallis deprived him of half of his possessions.

After this, Lord Teignmouth was engaged in a war with the Rohillas. In the sixteenth year of Tippoo Saib's reign, the Governor-General, in 1798, found Tippoo concerting new schemes against our rule, and the Mahratta

powers proved troublesome. Colonel Wellesley had been appointed by his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, governor of Seringapatam ; and some time after a freebooter, one Doondiah Waugh, whom Colonel Wellesley had himself set free, took the field with 5,000 cavalry, and, thus armed, threatened the Mysore frontier. The battle was fought and won ; and the leader, Waugh, was slain. Waugh left a favourite son, whom Colonel Wellesley nobly adopted ; no doubt because he pitied the orphan's destitution, and had admired the father's courage. When that great man left India, he also deposited seven hundred pounds for the support of this youth. At the time of the capture of Seringapatam, the duke was comparatively a poor man, but he actually gave up his share of prize-money, to the amount of £100,000, to be distributed through the ranks of his army. The Marquis of Wellesley, aided by his brother, the late duke, and by Lord Lake, annihilated the power of Tippoo, and crushed the Mahratta forces, notwithstanding their combination. Doulut Rao Scindiah was the most formidable of the Mahratta chiefs. He proudly advanced, with all the panoply and

magnificence of oriental war, at the head of an overwhelming number of horse and foot, well disciplined, and skilfully trained in the art of gunnery, and with one hundred guns, to be worked, as the army had long been officered, by the French. The duke had 8,000 men, against 56,000 of the Mahratta host. Colonel Stephenson was to have joined the duke with another 8,000 men to carry out a combined attack; but, on the morning of the 23rd of September, the duke and his small host were in such a position that they must attack these 56,000 men. Only 1,600, of the 8,000 with the duke, were English soldiers.

The duke stood on the hill which overlooks Assaye, and his eagle eye detected his adversary's mistake. The Mahratta cavalry, 30,000 in number, he at once sees cannot act in that small peninsula on the left; he launches forthwith his attack on that very point, and overpowers the infantry.

He is soon in the fiercest of the struggle himself; two horses are shot under him; the French and the Mahrattas blaze away at their guns; but the whirlwind of bayonets, raised and driven by Englishmen, silence all; and

the hosts of the Mahratta perished that day,—Assaye had been hotly fought, and nobly won. The battle of Argaum followed, and again the Mahrattas were defeated, and nearly 40,000 square miles were thus added to the territories of the East-India Company. The Marquis of Hastings succeeded Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto. In 1813-14 the marquis found it necessary to take the field against a host of enemies. The Pindarees were exterminated, the Nepaulese were subdued, and more independent states were made tributary to the Company.

In 1820, '21 and '24, our troops were employed in various directions, and they always came to the same results—consolidation and annexation. In 1826 Bhurtpore fell; and, by its fall, Lord Combermere secured the peace of Upper India. From this time till 1838, Russia had been supposed to have designs on British India. The Persian frontier became unsettled, the Affghans were troublesome, and at length Dost Mahommed had to be deposed by force, and Shah Soojah was placed on the throne, as one more likely to promote our efforts for peace in that direction. Shah

Soojah, however, had a very short reign, for his throne was a somewhat uncomfortable one, since it was raised on the top of English bayonets ; and so, when the chiefs opposed to him determined that it should come down, his supporters suffered with him.

The natives, with great astuteness, chose their season well for this attempt ; and our troops were driven out of Affghanistan. Destitute of food and ammunition, their march was intercepted in the mountains : they were cut up, and nearly every man was massacred.

Generals Pollock and Nott, under Lord Ellenborough's rule, avenged this cruel massacre. Next came our contests with the Ameers of Scinde, under Sir Charles Napier, and Scinde became the possession of the British.

In 1843, Gwalior gave us some trouble, and we took up arms to enforce the treaty respecting the succession to the throne : the battles of Maharajpore and Punnier were fought and won, and the present Maharajah Scindia was placed on the throne under British auspices. On the death of the former Maharajah, dissensions soon arose. The Baiza Bae



(the widow of the late Maharajah, who is now only twenty-eight), when thirteen years of age, had adopted a youth of eight as her son. An application was made to the British Government to confirm this choice: the necessary sanction was obtained not only to this, but also to the appointment of the Mama Sahib as vizier.

The Dada Khan Walla, however, soon obtained the confidence of the youthful Baiza Bae, and expelled the Mama Sahib. The Gwalior army of 20,000 disciplined troops, with 200 guns, turned out; and we brought up an army of exercise to the Gwalior frontier. Perfidy and falsehood were the order of the day, and though the Baiza Bae professed submission, she occupied the time thus gained in the personal superintendence of warlike preparations.

The army of the Maharajah, after the defeat of the rebellious troops, was reduced to 9,000 men and 200 gunners, to be officered by the British, who also had to administer the civil affairs of Scindia's dominions. We were next engaged in the Punjab war, and the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat soon followed.

We had scarcely concluded our peace arrangements in the Punjab, where we reared a Mission, as a "Thanksgiving Memorial to God the only Giver of victory," when troubles arose at Burmah. Burmah and Oude were both annexed. Lord Dalhousie came home—Lord Canning went out—and the present rebellion sprang up and spread like wildfire, carrying death and destruction to thousands.

By an attentive perusal of the Oude papers, containing the testimony borne to the good-feeling evinced to the English by the Sovereigns of Oude, in letters from our own Residents at that Court, and from the despatches of various Governors-General, any reasonable man will be convinced that our seizure of Oude is one of the most doubtful political acts which the Government of England has ever committed; and this is an opinion indorsed by those who are very jealous of the honour of their country. Let us hope that it may be overruled for good. Lord John Manners remarked at a meeting at Willis's Rooms—

"That our rule in India depended upon prestige, but that prestige was of two kinds,—the prestige of

arms and of justice. Whenever the former had been impaired, it was gloriously restored; but what could they say of the latter? Was there any one in that great and influential meeting who could put his hand on his heart, and, reading the records of their past transactions with the native states and princes of India, say those were wrong, who, like himself, saw, in the uprising of the whole population of Oude against our invading force, the answer to that imprecation which, year after year, was repeated in the most solemn service of the Church on Ash-Wednesday, against those who remove their neighbour's landmarks. He knew that he touched on delicate ground; but he wished to express his own convictions. He entertained that conviction most deeply and earnestly, and he should play the part of a hypocrite if he were to stand forward on that platform to advocate the extension of Christian missions in India, and conceal his profound belief that either the continuance of such conduct on the part of this nation must greatly mar, if it does not altogether annihilate, the success of our Christian missions in India; or, on the other hand, which he prayed might be the case, that the extension of our Christian missions will terminate, and for ever, the rule of such injustice in India. They were called upon from the charnel-houses of Delhi and Cawnpore to avenge their murdered missionaries, not by fire and sword, but by preaching the Gospel of peace, and mercy, and goodwill; thereby realizing the truth of the old Christian saying, 'The blood of her martyrs is the seed of the Church.'"

“ Mr. Justice Coleridge contended that India, her gold, her jewels, and her commerce, were not given to them to find places for their younger sons, to find husbands for their dowerless daughters, to build palaces at home, to plant their parks, or adorn their apartments; but it was given to them to bring within the fold of Christ millions upon millions of immortal souls, benighted from ignorance, embruted by vice, and brought up in the doctrines of evil. Could they suppose that annexation after annexation was to be attributed only to the ambition of one man, or the enterprise of another, or the misconduct of a third? No; these were occasions given to them by the Almighty for a great and good purpose. Everything showed that they had failed entirely in carrying out the great purpose for which their empire in India was given to them. They had neglected India so long, that there was an arrear of interest due from them which they must discharge before they could feel themselves to be in anything like a satisfactory state.”

But observe, *en passant*, that in the Punjab, where we most honoured God and Christ, our subjects have been perfectly quiet; and at Gwalior the protection there extended to us, in a lesser degree, has doubtless arisen from similar causes, to which allusion will be made, as a proof of the influence for evil or for good which Christians in India must exercise when

away from home, and settled in the land of their adoption.

To all of our readers, if it ever be their lot to leave the land of their birth for that distant home, we prognosticate this experience,—you will know well then, but not till then, how much you have loved or undervalued, your Church, your Queen, and your country.

With a heavy heart and a quivering lip, you will gaze on the very shores of England; and many an eye has been strained to catch the last, last glimpse of the fading cliffs of Albion. And, perchance, if you feel that that land will be your home, and may be your grave, then your sighs at departing will be deeper. Thus the prayers for blessings on the army sent out will strengthen the hands of those warriors, who will strive to uphold their country's renown, by fighting right well in this holy war; our grateful hearts will welcome all comers again, while the widows and orphans of those who fall, we, who remain in peace at home, are in duty bound to provide for. The suspension of Britain's rule may seem gloomy words to use; but it is to be feared that they are the only ones that can be employed, even now,

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correctly to represent our present relations with India.

Let me earnestly solicit your kind judgment of the language which I may now employ in speaking of our affairs in India. It has been my desire to trace impartially the causes which have brought such deep and inconceivable woe and distress to thousands of the governors and the governed, alike subjects of our Queen, who at the commencement of last year enjoyed the blessings of peace, in as perfect ignorance of any coming storm as we ourselves do this day in England.

Two causes have always been most prominent in my mind, before the outbreak and since, as likely to produce—and, indeed, as having produced—the present rebellion,—its murders, its plunderings, its immoralities, its famines, its pestilences, and its dire distress, with all their heart-rending consequences brought home to ourselves, and into thousands of our best families in Great Britain.

The first is to be found in the unequal strength of the European force for the government of the British territory.

The second is the withdrawal of God's pro-

tection, for a time, from the English residents in India.

The first cause, for the future, we trust, may now cease to exist, and this may be left with the Government and the people of England.

The second, let us hope, is but for a moment as it were, till His anger be past ; for though heaviness may endure for a night, "joy cometh in the morning."

This cause in future may be left to hearts that pray among the millions of Christians in England and in India.

It would seem vain that any one should ask for Divine protection in every-day life, by miraculous interposition ; and if this be admitted, it will follow that infatuation alone, or with presumption combined, could venture to hope for the safety of hundreds among hostile millions, when the former had not provided sufficient ordinary protection for themselves.

This thought, however, suggests some further inquiry, as to whether the local government in India urged the insufficiency of the European force, either on the consideration of the Court of Directors, or on the attention of the Board of Control.

And, furthermore, it may be hoped, now that Parliament has assembled, that some reliable information will be given on this subject; since at present the local government is in the position of the man of the coasts, in Ezekiel's vision, who was set to watch and warn the people of the sword coming on the land. If the Indian Government gave no warning of the danger which all now acknowledge to have existed for so long a time, and which was by many foreseen and foretold in India full seven years ago, the blood that has been shed God will require at their hands.

We ought, however, to remember that this chariness of expense, on account of military requirement, has been much encouraged by the nation at large: it added to the trials, which it had stored up for years, when the Crimean war broke out, and it has hampered our operations in the present rebellion, the subjugation of which is so important a consideration in connection with the commerce of this great country.

If Manchester is bent on heaping up wealth, her members must not begrudge supplies for troops to protect it; and till the time arrive



when the swords of nations shall have been beaten into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, swords and spears will be found necessary accompaniments in the hands of those who are to be the representatives of England—the “Evangelizer of the nations.”

It was most distinctly stated, a few weeks ago, that the Marquis of Dalhousie had applied to the home authorities for four additional regiments, to carry out with safety the annexation of Oude. It was also added that these four regiments were either pointedly refused or not sent.

This application for help could only have been disregarded, if disregarded, through culpable indifference or official ignorance, unless it was intended as a censure of financial embarrassments in India, caused by the maintenance of a costly civil service, at the expense of efficiency in the military arm.

As one fact from observation is worth a thousand random inferences, let me give you some statistics of the force we had at Gwalior, from the end of May, 1849, to the same date in 1850.

Gwalior had been at that time in our pos-

session, as the guardians of the Maharajah, for nearly seven years ; and the strength of the Contingent will have appeared to you considerable, from the trouble given to the Maharajah,—by the dread on the part of the Agra garrison of a visit from these ruffians, and, lastly, from the actual engagement which they fought with General Windham, before the body of them was beaten by Sir Colin Campbell.

In the cantonments of Gwalior—where a Church, Mission-school, and Parsonage once flourished, all of which are now utterly destroyed—the European officers consisted of a brigadier, brigade-major, paymaster, superintending engineer, and superintending surgeon, and the clergyman or chaplain for the time being ; and this was called the staff. The three regiments of infantry and the two of cavalry had each three European officers, and the two companies of artillery three ; besides these, there was one officer for the commissariat, and three surgeons attached to the companies ; thus making a total of thirty-one British officers, in addition to some eighteen or twenty non-commissioned officers. Seven

miles from the cantonment, the political agent for Scindiah's affairs lived in seclusion alone; and from the Residency about two miles stood the Fort, which is thus described in connection with its first conquest by Captain Popham, in 1780.

"Before the detachment was sent to join Popham, he, with extraordinary daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwalior, one of the very strongest in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and at that time defended by a numerous garrison.

"The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger; he was brother of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller."

The Fort itself stands four hundred feet from the level of the plain, and commands the native city of Gwalior, and of the Lushkur, in which there are 300,000 inhabitants, with souls as immortal as our own, but engrossed in sins of the deepest dye—witnesses, indeed, to the truthfulness of St. Paul's description of the heathen and their iniquities in his Epistle to the Romans. As one looks upon these cities

from the fort, the words of Holy Scripture lead the mind to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. England has been asked the question, and well will it be with her if she answer it by sending the Gospel to these and similarly-situated cities,—Is it our duty, like Abraham, to plead before God *for* their inhabitants, and *with* them, through the means of missionary efforts, *for* God, that they may be reconciled to Him ; or are we to leave them to perish in their sins ?

The following very interesting letter appeared in the columns of the *Times* of the 18th November, 1857, written by a native Christian resident at Gwalior, in which, among other things, he alludes to the Maharajah's *darbar*, or levee, at which the military officers and residents were expected to attend, under circumstances which did violence to their consciences, made the heathen despise us as Christians, and which conduct could not certainly have been acceptable, but, on the contrary, most offensive to the one true God. We have reason to fear that such acts as those alluded to have brought down on us, most justly, the Divine anger :—

*" Gwalior, Sept. 8.*

" Everything here is pretty quiet at present, and I trust it may continue so. For the last three or four days we have been labouring under great fear on account of the troops, or rather mutineers, that had come from Indore separating from the Gwalior Contingent mutineers, with whom they had been encamped since their arrival here, a dispute having arisen between them as to the route they were in future to take, the former wishing to proceed to Delhi, while the latter wished to proceed to Cawnpore. The Indorians marched on the 3rd, and encamped at the Residency. They encamped two days, during which time they managed to get some 600 men from the two cavalry corps in the Maharajah's service to join them; the remaining two irregular cavalry regiments consisted chiefly of Mahomedans. A number of the scoundrels walked off with horses belonging to other sowars, and one scoundrel decamped with a horse belonging to the captain of his regiment. The Maharajah was, at the same time, well prepared to put down any disturbance that might arise, but everything went off well; all the sowars that voluntarily came out and asked for their discharge, were immediately paid up and sent out of Gwalior, while a great portion went away without taking their discharge, as they were deeply in debt, and the Maharajah had already ordered the effects of all those who were not able to pay up their debts to be sold and the debts paid. Although the Moorar mutineers were not unanimous as to their future route, the Moorarians, to

prove their loyalty, supplied the Indorians with a good quantity of ammunition before parting.

"The Indore troops consisted of one regiment of Native Infantry (the 23rd Company's), three troops 1st Light Cavalry, 7 guns, and 600 sowars from the Maharajah's service; the ammunition they received was—powder 2,400 lb., shot of all sorts 3,000, and ball-cartridges sufficient to supply each man with 30 rounds. Some of the budmashes from the city of Gwalior have also joined. The whole of the scoundrels left this on the morning of the 5th. The mutineers now at Moorar are also talking about making a move, and have applied to his Highness for conveyance; no one yet knows properly where they go to; they talk of going to Cawnpore, and some say to Agra.

"Yesterday, the 7th, the native officers from the several mutineers' regiments of the Gwalior Contingent came in a body, with about 200 sepoys, to the Pool Baugh, to demand grain, conveyance, &c., from the Maharajah, to enable them to march upon Agra or Cawnpore. The native officers only were called in; they have all along attended the Maharajah's durbar with their side-arms, but now that they came in a body, his Highness particularly requested them to lay down their arms at the gate before entering. The mutineers' officers did so; but a lot of sepoys also accompanied them. The durbar was held in the billiard and school rooms, which were full of sepoys. However, the officers told the Maharajah that all their sepoys were desirous of marching upon Agra, and that they hoped his Highness would send a faithful servant in company with them, as also

supply them with grain and conveyances to Agra, as they were, and would always be, servants to his Highness. The Maharajah plainly told them that, if they considered themselves servants of his, they were to remain where they were, and to obey only such orders as he was pleased to command; and that when they were required to march, it would be he that would issue the orders, and not at their option; but if they did not wish to obey his orders, they were at liberty to do as they liked; that he (the Maharajah) would neither supply them with grain, conveyance, nor anything else. This was enough. One or two of the scoundrels began to be very insulting, telling the Maharajah that he had detained them nearly four months with false promises, and that he had consequently entirely deceived them; that they would have conveyances from wherever they came. Accordingly they sent then and there three sepoy—armed, of course—to the villages close by, and have brought away every bullock, buffalo, male or female, mules, asses, horses, carts, camels, and, in fact, anything in the shape of conveyance for baggage. Every bullock that they could lay their hands on around Gwalior has been seized, three elephants belonging to different chiefs have been taken away; and a number of camels. Bullocks grazing close to the Pool Baugh have been seized and taken away; five companies with two guns were sent out yesterday, some ten or twelve miles into the country, to seize upon every conveyance they could find, and get hold of other plunder, clean sweeping every village. A tussle is daily, nay hourly, expected. From the evening of the 7th the Moora-

rians have had a battery of twelve guns planted on the road to the Pool Baugh and the Lushkur, with a regiment of infantry always in readiness. The Maharajah has also a battery of sixteen guns facing theirs, with infantry and cavalry, but nothing further has taken place. It is believed the Maharajah's infantry are staunch, as they have shown no sign of disaffection. On the evening of the 7th the Maharajah came in person and ordered out all his infantry. After calling the roll, he told them that the day had come when they were required to do their duty as soldiers, and to earn the 'salt' they had been eating for the last fourteen years at least; to which they one and all answered that they were ready to forfeit their lives for him, wherever and against whomever he may command, which very much pleased the Maharajah. He told them that he would handsomely recompense them should they stick to their words.

"Independent of his troops, the Maharajah has about 10,000 of his brave Thakoors; such as Murleydhur, Buldawe Sing, with others, protecting Gwalior all round; about 4,000 or 5,000 remain opposite the Pool Baugh every night, every matchlock lit and ready. The city people here remain in suspense all night; every hour we expect to hear the report of cannon. Should the city be plundered, there is faint hope for the poor Christians. I only hope the Maharajah will supply them with the conveyance they require, and let them go out of this; but the Maharajah will not submit, and so we must only wait to see the result. News came in yesterday that the Indore mutineers.



have safely crossed the Chumbul river, and taken possession of the Fort of Dholpore. The Rana has shifted quarters. So you see we are not altogether safe; but Providence I trust will protect us. It was firmly believed that the Moorarians would open fire at twelve o'clock to-day on the Maharajah's batteries, but they have not done so; it is now 3 P.M. I think some arrangements have been made respecting the conveyance they require.

*"Sept. 9.*

"On going to the Pool Baugh I found things quite in a different way. The Moorarians have advanced their battery closer to the Pool Baugh. I went on a three-storied house to have a look, and there, sure enough, the scoundrels could be seen! There were two batteries of six guns each, with six companies protecting each battery. No terms having been concluded, they sent word that by three this morning, should nothing be concluded, they will positively open fire. Our brave Maharajah ordered out every available soldier and every gun he is possessed of;—viz., one horse and five bullock batteries, one large 36-pounder, four regiments of infantry, the Affghan troops, &c., two regiments of cavalry. They were all planted over the plain for nearly four or five miles on the right and left of the Moorar, the Maharajah going all over his batteries, and causing it to be told to every sepoy that he will raise their pay from this day, and will handsomely reward them if they do their duty. All shouted, 'Johookum Alleeja Bahadoor Ka.' About twelve o'clock last night matters were concluded, the Maharajah

agreeing to supply them with conveyance and to pay the scoundrels one month's pay. This morning they have withdrawn their batteries, but the Maharajah's battery is still on its ground, as there is no dependence to be placed on the vagabonds. So no more for the present. Until such time as the scoundrels do actually march away, there will be no peace.

*"Sept. 11.*

"No settlement has been come to. The troops and guns are still out. The Maharajah has advanced his batteries to within a couple of musket-shots from the Moorarians. A considerable number of men on the Maharajah's side are out in the field, the mutineers are quite thunderstruck to see the Maharajah bring out such a large number of men against them and within so short a time, as upwards of seven miles the troops (Pindarees and Thakoors) extend on the right and left of the cantonment of Moorar. The scoundrels are completely hemmed in on all sides, and, what is worse with them, they have no sowars or cavalry, the whole of their cavalry having previously deserted them and come over to the Maharajah. The 5th regiment and a company of the 6th have also come to the Maharajah; so that there are not many scoundrels—say about 5,000—now at Moorar. Since the night of the 8th and 9th, about 120 of the villains have come to the Maharajah, and this morning forty are waiting at the Dewan Sahib's house, and as many have absconded; all that come to the Maharajah are ordered to be kept separate from his troops; they are not even allowed to associate with the Maharajah's sepoys, but are kept

safe and secure far apart, and as soon as matters are settled thoroughly with the mutineers, they will then be dealt with as his Highness may think proper.

“It is also rumoured that they have sent men to Dholpore to ask the Indorians to come back to their assistance; but it is not likely that they will do so, since they were made to pay for the ammunition they were supplied with, to say nothing of the trouble and expense they will have to incur in returning. They are deserting every day, and cannot hold out much longer.

“We are more in fear of the city budmashes than the mutineers, should a quarrel occur. Now, I have given you all the news I could get up to this day: what will next occur I will collect for a future letter; till then, adieu!

“*Sept. 12.*

“I give you the latest news just come in; only two companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry, with two guns, have crossed the river Chumbul. The mutineers at Moorar have withdrawn one of their batteries, but they send urgent messages for food and conveyances. I think they will submit. Nothing occurred all day and night of the 11th.

“*Sept. 14.*

“The mutineers at Moorar have withdrawn the whole of their heavy guns; but their light guns are kept out as picket-guns. The Maharajah's troops and guns are still out; he says that he will not withdraw his guns and troops until such time as the whole of them have marched away. The 5th regiment, and the

remaining two companies of the 6th regiment, with the two guns in their possession, have taken service with his Highness. Accordingly, they have removed into the lines in the Kumpoo; the two guns, with two companies, are out with the Maharajah's troops, ready to give the Moorarians a licking, should they attempt to kick up a disturbance. There are now at Moorar three regiments of infantry and five companies of artillery, in all about 3,000 men. They have promised to leave within six days. The Maharajah has sent them plenty of conveyance, but they still require more. The Indore mutineers appear to be still at the Chumbul; but the Cossid will be able to give you particulars on that subject. The mutineers from Moorar talk of going, *vid* Agra, to Delhi; but they have no pluck; 400 or 500 Europeans would suffice to beat them, and take away every musket and gun they possess. I don't think they will be able to take away all his ammunition. They say they will destroy what they cannot take away."

A native letter from Gwalior says:—

"Sept. 25.

"The Maharajah, having assembled a considerable number of his ryots, surrounded the mutinous troops there on all sides, and asked them either to fight or give up their arms. On which the mutineers, seeing no other alternative, laid down their arms and quietly left the Gwalior territory, and are now on their way to their homes.

"Captain Dennys, Lieutenants Benyon and Banner-

man, late of the Kotha Contingent, have joined Brigadier-General Lawrence's camp at Beuar, who has a troop of horse artillery, about 250 of her Majesty's 83rd regiment, two squadrons of the 1st Lancers, and 200 of the Mhairwarrah local battalion, to meet the Erinpoora mutineers, who are said to be in a fort at Soojut, called Awah. The mutineers are said to have seven guns and 1,000 picked men."

In the above letter, written under the very embattlements of a fort which was once the very strongest in India, not one word of allusion is found respecting it. And certainly if we contrast the conduct of the local government, in respect to the forts of Gwalior and Delhi, we shall find that their arrangements for holding them are like the acts of men smitten with judicial blindness. At Delhi the authorities made that Fort the Sebastopol of the North-west Provinces, by stocking it with guns and ammunition; and they even provided, or allowed to remain, a bridge of boats, as a means of escape for a garrison besieged within its walls.

Assuming that this bridge of boats was permitted to remain, in case English troops should one day have to hold, and, possibly, at length to yield it, some reasonable explanation

could be given ; but then this Fort was left in the charge of overpowering numbers of natives, who had been trained by our own countrymen as gunners, who would rally their forces by the same signs and sounds, march to battle with bands playing "Cheer boys, cheer !" and our National Anthem, as though in mocking scorn and taunting derision, beneath the sable banner of rebellion, which they could only have reared successfully through our unfaithfulness to our own religion, our servile deference to their superstitions, and our miserable love of wealth, which in our eagerness to amass, we too often neglect to use means for its protection.

We know, alas ! too well, that this Fort—so well stocked, and so skilfully planned—*was, in the permissive providence of God, with fearful consequences, used against us.*

The Fort of Gwalior the same authorities allow to fall into decay, and the one officer sent there with one hundred or two hundred of the armed troops from Cantonments, was regarded by those more fortunate ones who remained behind as pretty well imprisoned for a month, and not very sure of his life, con-

sidering the corruption of human nature ; since, though he was in theory *in command* of the Sepoys, he was practically in their keeping, and at the mercy of the 300,000 natives who live in the cities of Gwalior and the Luskhur, which, as we have said, are spread out before, and commanded by, the embrasures of this once rightly-called "Gibraltar of the East."

We have remarked on the absence of any allusion to the fort at Gwalior in the letter published in the *Times*. The fact is, that the Fort was always regarded, in its present state, as useless for purposes of defence ; but it was the impression of more than one officer there, that if an outbreak were to occur, and the Fort could not be held, the officer in charge would be brought to a court-martial.

As either he or the supreme government would necessarily have been to blame, we used to anticipate the condemnation of the former, whom our mind's eye metamorphosed into a very favourite specimen of the genus called a "scapegoat for the occasion."

On further examination of that letter, you will find how important would have been the advantage, had the local government resolved

to have repaired the embattlements of Gwalior, and to have transferred some portion "of the stock of three years' ammunition for 50,000 men, found in Delhi after the seige," to the Fort in the territory of Scindia.

At one time, indeed, bravely and nobly as Scindia behaved, it seemed almost probable that he would have to give in and head the rebels, or lose his own head, as the penalty of his refusal; whereas, had this fort been kept in a state of repair and properly supplied with ammunition, and held in charge by Europeans, the mutineers from the Cantonments would not have ventured to the Pool Baugh; the 300,000 natives in the cities, where there are many Roman Catholic Christians, would have been safe; the mutineers from Indore could not *readily* have joined the Gwalior rebels, since the Fort commands the road from the Cantonments, which must be traversed by any one attempting to march on Agra, or on Cawnpore, *vid* Jhansi. In short, had that Fort been kept up, the Maharajah would have been secured; he could have defied all the efforts of our mutual enemies, for he could then have held tens of thousands of them at bay.



On the other hand, the lives of the European community would not have been endangered by any garrison kept up at the Fort of Gwalior, since the Cantonments in which we lived were four miles from this stronghold. Do not suppose that the opinions thus expressed prove me more sagacious than my neighbours; for many in India thought with me, or, rather, I with them. But if it ever be your lot to sleep night after night in cantonments where thirty officers (Christians) are in mock command of six thousand of all arms (Heathens), you may begin to have some anxious thoughts about your own safety; but if not on your own account, you would have, on behalf of your helpless wife and children, if God had blessed you with them. So strong was the opinion formed by myself on the subject of our insecurity in India, that I placed my fears on record, in a sermon which could not be misunderstood, preached more than seven years ago, before the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces at Agra.

Knowing as I do that, but for the mercy of God, my wife and family, with myself, might have been barbarously murdered, as one of

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my successors and some of my late congregation at Gwalior were, so lately, it seems incumbent on me, since others have suffered, to suggest some inquiries into the causes which made them victims—for victims I shall always consider them.

And if it be proved that the local authorities did not represent the state of things properly at home, or that when they did so, they were thwarted in the city, or put off by the routine of far-famed Cannon Row, let us hope that the Premier will sweep both these Boards clean away, and begin again by declaring "Queen Victoria supreme in India."

Boards are often but screens to very wicked things, and instrumental in causing very gross oppression : and though among servants in a house, or among boys in a school, "no one's to blame," and "nobody did it," may avail as an excuse, it is evident that where such interests are at stake as those which have been involved in the Indian mutiny, a divided responsibility, or no responsibility at all, is quite unworthy of a great nation, and inconsistent with the vast weight of care necessary to the maintenance of our national greatness. A system of undivided

responsibility might very well be devised, without denuding the government of the experience and energy of our Indian statesmen and generals at home and abroad, and without falling into the snare of surrendering the patronage, which would suffice to turn the heart, if not the head, of most politicians, by making the once honest member a corrupt and corrupting minister.

This would appear to be the only sure remedy, because some one then could be held responsible.

It might very properly be considered out of place, and therefore useless, to trace the causes of the present outbreak, which has now assumed the character of an Indian civil war, if we did not know assuredly that, when the events of the day have passed away, the imminent danger we have been in will be forgotten, and matters will go on as before, unless the Imperial Parliament act resolutely.

If it were lawful to regard our possessions in the East merely in the light of a "mine of wealth to Englishmen," an examination of the facts of the case would convince any reasonable man that the governors of India have acted

for many years as though they had only cared to make things last out their time.

It was different, however, with Sir Charles Napier. He spoke the truth—roughly, 'tis true—but roughly, no doubt, because he thought that some officials' ears had better tingle at his words, than always luxuriate in civil adulation. But he was a Queen's officer, and not likely, therefore, to be listened to in Leadenhall Street, and Lord Dalhousie was prejudiced against him.

It was very well said by the faithful old general, so jealous of the honour of the army,—"that all the old officers get snug places, and the regiments are left to the boys." Among the snug places, it may be presumed that he included the retreats and the seats kept up in the hills, and in England, by generals, lieutenant-generals, major-generals, and colonels, at the expense of the efficiency of the army, and out of the proceeds of certain off-reckonings.

It will scarcely be believed that in the vast presidency of Bengal, as appears from documents published on the authority of the Court of Directors, that 7 generals, 23 lieutenant-generals, 43 major-generals, 17 colonels, and

12 lieutenant-colonels—in all 102—were absent at one time from about 90 regiments of the regular native army, and from the corps which form the contingents.

Some of these officers have been in England, for one can scarcely find out how many years—almost from time immemorial. Of 12 colonels of the Bengal artillery, 10 were absent on furlough, as may be seen by the *East-India Register* of May 7, 1856.

Of the 74 colonels of native infantry regiments in Bengal and the North-west Provinces, 54 were on furlough, and 17 lieutenant-colonels of these same regiments were playing at “follow my leader.”

No wonder, therefore, that Sir Charles Napier so truly said that “the subs drink beer, and keep out of the sun;” especially when, in addition to this furlough retreat, so many majors and captains are off on “urgent private affairs,” while others are on civil duty.

Of the 1,702 officers of the native infantry of Bengal, 250 at least are always away from their regiments. There are less than 5,000 civil and military officers scattered up and down the presidency of Bengal, along the

coast to Moulmein and Prome, and to the farthest extremity of British India.

The extent of this territory, and its immense population, are facts familiar to us all, but the tritest truths of every-day life are not often pushed to their conclusions. These things, which we all know, we have neglected to lay to heart, or we should otherwise have anticipated our danger.

Considering the vast empire acquired in Bengal alone, the civil and military officers of the three presidencies combined would not be too many for the good government of that one presidency.

To touch only at this time on the physical force disposable for the administration of effective government in India, we are even now, with all our exertions, most miserably deficient. The 50,000 troops arrived or arriving there must be content to remain for many a long year, if we are to keep our footing in that country, and reinforcements to the extent of 20,000 a year will not prove more than sufficient to fill the places of the killed, the wounded, and the invalided.

The peril in which our countrymen are

placed, and with them some hundreds of defenceless women and children, demands that this revolt should be treated more seriously than it has hitherto been.

And, in future, it would be well if one qualification for office at the Board of Control were a previous residence in, or at least a visit to India. Twelve months' sojourn in that country, to a man of observation, would better fit him to control its destinies than would the reading of 50,000 despatches. In the native states, especially in those to which we are linked by amity and friendship, the forces maintained are greater in proportion to the population than in our own territory, probably, because we "officer," but do not pay for, the Contingents.

It is usual in military stations to give a guard of six armed sepoys, who are on duty night and day, in the verandah of each officer's bungalow. This is a very good custom while troops remain faithful, but may prove a very dangerous one in such a mutiny as that which has broken out in India. Yet the same may be said of every military and civil station in that empire, and every family of Europeans

was in the same position. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that the public mind should be aroused to demand from the Government strong measures of reform, such as Sir Charles Napier pointed out as needful. The moral prestige of the Company's servants is a subject which the departed general, with his watchful eye, did not and could not overlook.

Let us hope that, for the future at least, it will be borne in mind that the individual influence of those who are in authority must tend either to consolidate or to weaken the power we claim over those we profess to govern. And certainly the piety of Havelock did not make him less brave. A thorough reform in the administration of Indian affairs is needed, and a thorough reform we hope the country will demand.

But what was the consequence of this state of things at Gwalior, when the mutiny broke out there? The letters of some of the officers have told us the too true tale. The first signal of the mutiny was given there, when the flames shot up from the mess-house during the hours of Divine service, and in the evening



the words which the men of the Contingent had used in the morning, were indeed fulfilled : "This is nothing,—wait and see the tumashah or row there will be to-night." And when the tumashah came, what was the result? The officers were defenceless. And on whom did vengeance first fall? Certainly it would seem that the command, as of old, had gone forth: "Slay utterly old and young—both maids, and women, and children;" but the restriction of Ezekiel was not found to prevail in that hour; "Come not near any man, upon whom is the mark;" yet judgment began "at the sanctuary." Yes; the good and the consistent were the first to fall. There was poor Major Blake, the churchwarden of my time, who was also treasurer of the Mission Schools. He never absented himself from the table of his Lord, and when it was his turn to take duty at the fort, he begged me to visit him and to hold a service there, and to administer the symbols of the body broken and the blood shed of the Saviour whom he so humbly served. Speaking of the past, THAT was the first and last time that the Gospel was preached and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered

in the Fort of Gwalior. God grant that the former may now be preached and the latter administered many thousands of times in years to come! In the case of the territory of Gwalior, war has been proved to be the pioneer of the Gospel. Concerning this officer, his brother officers write thus :—"Alas, alas! more of our friends are gone; dear, noble-hearted Blake, shot dead in his own lines at Gwalior, by a scoundrel. The other men threw themselves on his body and wept, and then mutinied." The Rev. Mr. Coopland, the chaplain, was murdered, and his widow only knew this for a fact on the first anniversary of their wedding-day. The others who fell were all men who valued the means of grace. Captain H——, who had been twenty-five years in the service, was killed under circumstances as affecting as any which have come to light in the course of this awful rebellion. He had but three days before rejoiced over another child, and on the Sunday night these fiends incarnate entered the tent;—he was standing by the side of his wife's sick couch—she had her hand in his;—the rebel monsters then and there shot her elder child and her babe of three days old,

and then cruelly murdered her husband, while her hand was yet joined with his. That night these laughing, exulting fiends drove the poor widowed ladies, with the chaplain, into a native hut, as though they had been beasts of prey, and having killed Christ's appointed servant, they threatened these lonely ladies with 'worse than death.' At length, however, they were permitted to be sent away, the Maharajah most nobly protecting them. Weak as they were, they were thankful to be thrust into a carriage; and thus they were compelled, *widowed, destitute, and childless, to fly to Agra, across the hot-wind-parched plains of Maharajpore, whereon, fourteen years before, some of their murdered husbands had planted the English standard in triumph in the name of our gracious Queen."*

One feels proud to belong to the same race which has produced such examples of endurance, and you may think that enough has been said to justify the opinion before expressed, that one of the causes of this rebellion is to be found in the withdrawal, at least for a time, of the Divine protection.

The sad sufferings of the officers at Gwalior

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have much confirmed me in this view of the mutiny, for before the local government took any care of their souls, by leaving them without a chaplain for five years (from 1843), the officers of the Contingent made great sacrifices ; they bought and partly furnished a parsonage, and in addition, during my residence there, they built a church, with but little extraneous assistance, and erected mission-schools and supported the teachers whom we appointed, all in less than eighteen months. When, from illness, the medical men ordered me to Europe, a chaplain was sent for a short time : he went away, and then Mr. Coopland succeeded him. Some of the best of men were resident at Gwalior :—Brigadier Parsons, who escaped from Bareilly ; Colonel Eyre, of Cabool and Arrah fame : he was the architect of the Church, and has proved that he can handle the trowel to build up the walls of Jerusalem, as well as the sword or the breaching-gun to scatter the enemies of his country. We had Colonel Durand, of Indore, and Sir R. C. Shakespear, of Baroda, at Gwalior ; and also the son of Sir R. Sale :—all men of Christian character.

The great efforts which such men have made to supply their own spiritual wants, so different from the spirit of carelessness in years gone by, induce many to think that one of the primary causes of the withdrawal of the Divine protection from our countrymen is to be found in the acts of the Government itself; for many of the officers, of both services, who have suffered most cruel tortures, were in deed and in truth members of a city set on a hill, and were the salt of the earth.

The following letter (addressed to the late Bishop) and report will explain the nature and extent of the efforts made at Gwalior; and from the success which attended those efforts, it is very clear that the best means of regaining our *moral prestige* in India will be found in the location of a clergyman, permanently, in every station, civil and military, where Europeans are resident,—an arrangement which would have this advantage: it would prove the most effectual and the safest method of doing spiritual good among the native inhabitants of those stations.

“The station of Gwalior (memo. dated June 14th, 1850) has been under pastoral superintendence thirteen

months; during which time, it is my happiness to be able to state that the efforts which had been made previous to my arrival here have been sustained with as much vigour and zeal as the advanced state of the proceedings of the residents had left it necessary.

“ You have probably been made aware, ere this, that the new church, named Christ Church, was opened for Divine service on the 24th of March. The edifice has been so admirably described by an eminent engineer officer of the Honourable Company’s service, that it would be to little purpose were I to attempt to convey an idea of its beauty, further than by remarking that both in its design and execution, more ability, taste, and skill have been manifested, than are commonly possessed by unprofessional men.

“ The officer through whose zeal and unwearied assiduity our beautiful church was erected, is Captain Vincent Eyre, of the Bengal artillery.

“ Such an edifice could never have been erected through the subordinate agency of native workmen alone, except under the superintendence of one who was willing to devote every moment of time unoccupied in official duties to such a truly laudable work.

“ The foundation-stone of the church was laid in December, 1848, and in December, 1849, the building was ready for Divine service. You will readily imagine that such a church has not been built at a trifling cost. It is constructed of indigenous stone (white), and has cost about Co.’s Rs. 16,000.

“ The well-known munificence of Brigadier Parsons

will prepare you for the statement, that of the sum of Rs. 16,000 the brigadier has contributed half. In addition thereto, Brigadier Parsons gave the Communion service, the stained glass for the windows, the bell, and the large Bible and Prayer-book, the latter gift being jointly from Brigadier Parsons and Mrs. Parsons.

“ When a clergyman is so favoured as to be thus assisted, it appears to be a blessing which he cannot too highly prize, or too gratefully acknowledge.

“ The Calcutta Diocesan Church-building Fund Trustees, the funds of which are supported by monthly subscriptions of only one rupee, gave the committee here a practical proof of the value of such a society, by a grant of Co.’s Rs. 1,000; and Lady Shakespear collected Rs. 2,000.

“ The officers of the Contingent and the public subscribed liberally to the work; and the success which has attended the efforts of the community here, bid other stations, similarly circumstanced as this was, ‘ to go and do likewise.’ God has been with us to bless us, and he will be with others also.

“ The number of the community at head-quarters has been much understated; there must be at least ninety or one hundred Christians in cantonments; and after two seasons of no ordinary sickness we are yet all spared, enjoying the blessings, and increasing our responsibilities in the possession, of the public means of grace, as incentives to hopes of glory.

“ The Mission Schools, although but a very humble attempt, have not been unblessed; as will be seen from

the first report of the Mission Schools and School-building Fund.

“The subject of missions was brought before the congregation on Whit-Sunday in last year; and it was thought to be neither an inappropriate nor an ill-timed attempt to advance the glory of God, in grateful remembrance that on that day we had had preserved to us a scriptural liturgy for three hundred years.

“When it became necessary to obtain more subscriptions, in order to sustain the augmented expenses of an increasing school, a collecting-paper was sent round soliciting monthly subscriptions to the Mission Schools; but the cause of the School-building Fund was not pressed on the notice of the residents. In a very short time, however, the paper was returned with Rs. 500 subscribed for the latter, and Rs. 27 per mensem for the former cause.

“For such kind encouragement it cannot be out of place in me publicly to express the most unfeigned gratitude.

“It is to be hoped that our fellow Christians in this land of heathen darkness will not fail, when they read the first report of the Mission Schools, to render assistance to the work, as others have done, and so enable us to finish *well* that which we have begun, in the hope that God’s name may be glorified among the heathen.

“The importance of having large and well-superintended schools in this district may be duly estimated. Let it be remembered that we are resident within three miles of the city of Gwalior, and five miles of the



Lushkur. In these two cities it is estimated that there are at least 300,000 immortal souls. They have no kind of education which is worth the name, and it is much to be feared that the Roman Catholic Christians have scarcely parted with any of their notions on 'caste.'

"The city of Gwalior lies immediately under a wing of the celebrated fort; viewed from which it presents an interesting appearance. This is soon dispelled, however, by the reflection that its inhabitants are living in a state of the grossest sin; witnessing indeed to the truthfulness of St. Paul's description of the heathen and their iniquities, in his epistle to the Romans.

"As one looks upon the city from the fort, the words of Scripture lead the mind to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. Is it our duty, like Abraham, to plead before God *for* its inhabitants; and *with* them, through the means of missionary efforts, *for* God, that they may be reconciled to him; or are we to leave them to perish in their sins?"

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"FIRST REPORT OF CHRIST CHURCH, GWALIOR,  
SCHOOLS, &c.

"The first Report of the Gwalior Mission Schools would not have been intruded on public notice, if it had not been considered due to those kind friends (unconnected with the station of Gwalior) who have contributed to the Mission School-building Fund, to make known the progress, of which their liberality has been a principal cause.

“ Had pecuniary assistance not been so readily rendered by the friends of Christian edcaution, the schools must have been broken up for want of suitable building as a schoolroom.

“ The success which has hitherto attended the humble efforts of the residents of Gwalior to make God’s way known among those who know it not, will, it is hoped, encourage those who have interested themselves in this ‘work of faith and labour of love,’ confidently to trust, that through the Divine blessing on the zeal and liberality of Christ’s disciples in this land of darkness, the residents of the station will be enabled to complete the design which they had in view when the schools were first projected. It will be seen, by the accounts furnished in the report, that the schoolroom has been erected : the adults and children attending the schools have assembled therein for the last two months. The schoolroom is a ‘pucca’ building, with a thatched roof, and its interior dimensions are 40 by 20 feet, the walls being  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in thickness. The plan also embraces the erection of a verandah, which is found to be highly necessary, as the schools are carried on under European superintendence, and the hours of attendance are from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M. The attendance varies from 90 to 130. Moreover, as openings for usefulness are presenting themselves, in connection with the contemplated establishment of industrial schools, the proposed verandah would answer the twofold purpose of protecting the schoolroom from the heat and rains; and on the north, east, and south sides, be available as workshops for the industrial schools.

“The establishment of such schools, especially at Gwalior, is very important, as many boys, whose parents are too poor to be able to dispense with the earnings of their children, would then be able to attend the schools for instruction during the earlier part of the day, and afterwards be occupied till sunset in work, for which they would receive a trifling remuneration; whilst the experience of those interested in missions leads us to hope that these schools will in time be self-supporting. A small sum has been collected in England—about 50 rupees, which will be held in trust, till the sum of 600 rupees be raised for the erection of teachers’ houses.

“It is the intention of the committee of management to build two transeptal chambers (unless some better plan be decided on) on the west and north sides of the schoolrooms; the one on the north side being subdivided into two compartments for the Hindee and Persian teacher respectively; and that on the west side, as is intended, will be occupied by the superintendent of the proposed industrial schools. A small monthly sum will be deducted from the pay of the occupants of these chambers; and from this source some pecuniary assistance will be afforded to the mission funds.

“The services of an artisan will be readily available from the Lushkur, so soon as funds have been raised to complete the verandah, &c. The sum of 1,700 rupees will enable the committee of management (who will from henceforth carry out the objects of the mission) to add the necessary buildings to the schoolroom.

“Whilst partial success has attended our work so far

as the erection of the mission school premises is concerned, the efforts of the residents for the promotion of God's saving health among the heathen have been owned and blessed of God.

"A youth who had some years since received instruction in the Word of God at a Christian school in Fut-tehgurh, has now for the last four months been under instruction, preparatory to baptism, and his conduct during the whole time has been unexceptionable. He has given every evidence of that renewal of heart by the Holy Spirit which we are warranted in looking for in catechumens. He would have been baptized on Whit-Sunday, had not unforeseen circumstances rendered delay necessary. He is a boy of firm character having withstood much pernicious advice, and quietly submitted to reproach and insult from the heathen around us. He will doubtless prove of great service in the proposed industrial schools, as he was well instructed in making carpets when he lived at Fut-tehgurh.

"Another youth was also under instruction, but his evident want of sincerity rendered it necessary, after much deliberation, to dismiss him from the school, as one who sought only 'for the meat that perisheth.'

"A woman was also under instruction for three months, and it is still believed that she was and is, in some measure, anxious for her soul's salvation; but as she would not, after many patient explanations of the evils of caste and of its non-existence among Christians, give up her prejudices, she was refused baptism, but offered further instruction, on the ground,

that if she had not renounced caste, it would be improper to baptize her, and also in the hope that if her objections arose from pride, anxiety for her soul would in due time make her yield. She has since left the compound in which she was residing, but promised to return for further instruction.

"Thus, in the first year of our missionary operations having been so far blessed of God, we would ascribe the glory to Him, and it only remains to express a hope that through the continuance of the Divine blessing, our humble efforts will not be commended in vain to the cordial support of all who have the salvation of the heathen at heart.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the secretary.

" W. H. For,

" Secretary of the Gwalior Mission Schools,  
and School-building Fund."

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" A corresponding committee has been formed in England, in connection with the Gwalior Mission Schools. Since the above report was written, a letter has been received from a clergyman, who writes as follows :—

" ' I have brought your Mission Schools before my Sunday scholars, and they have taken very great interest in them. I have read your missionary letter to them, and it impressed them very much. They have been contributing their little offerings, monthly, in a box for missions. At the close of last year (1849), I spoke to them of your schools, and read passages of your letters. I then put

it to the vote, whether they would devote the contributions of the year to your schools, or let them go to the general funds of the two great societies, as heretofore. The boys decided in favour of Gwalior, by a majority of 40 to 7 (the contributors only voting). The girls voted unanimously for Gwalior.'

The yearly contributions of the girls	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
amounted to ... ..	0	12	9½			
But the boys surpassed them with ... ..	0	12	11½			
				1	5	9
Donation of the Rev. John Tagg ... ..	0	10	0			
Ditto — Longcroft, Esq. ... ..	0	5	0			
Ditto Mr. Ward ... ..	0	2	6			
				0	17	6
Total ... ..	2	3	3			

That the Divine protection has been withdrawn is manifest, otherwise the atrocities which our countrymen have suffered could not have taken place; for without our Heavenly Father's knowledge not a sparrow falleth to the ground. A fact worth noticing was mentioned by the Bishop of Oxford, on the 26th of last November, at the meeting in aid of the extension of Indian missions :—

"On one occasion, the Rajah of Gwalior, the ancestor of that rajah who has stood so faithfully by us in the present mutinies, said to the Resident,—'How is it that you English have so great a command over us?' His

reply was,—‘It is because you pray to an idol which can do no good to you, while we pray to the God of Heaven, through His only Son, and our prayers are heard.’ The Rajah was still for a moment; at last he said,—‘I believe you are right.’ Mark how curiously you may trace the hand of God in this last outbreak. Why did that prince’s family remain faithful to us? I verily believe that it was mainly on account of the moral and religious influence which the Resident obtained over the man’s heart: he had got to trust him implicitly. The Resident had helped him to recover a large debt, of which he had always despaired, and when it was paid, it came home in bullock-waggon; and the Rajah sent to say that he had ordered a certain number, containing £400,000, to stop at the Resident’s door, as his share. Of course the Resident’s answer was, ‘I cannot take a single penny from you. What I have done, I have done as a matter of right and justice.’ The Rajah sent for him next day, and said to him, ‘What a fool you were not to take the money; nobody would have known it; I should never have told it.’ ‘But,’ said the Resident, ‘there is One who would have known it—the Eye that sleepeth not; and my own conscience would never have left me a moment’s rest.’ Upon which the rajah said, ‘You English are a wonderful people; no Indian would have done that.’ When the Resident was going away, the Rajah sent for him, and asked him for advice as to his future policy. ‘I will give you this advice,’ said the Resident: ‘it is very likely that troublesome days will come; but don’t be led away. It may appear as though the power of the Company was going

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JUGGERNAUTH.

to be swept away. Don't believe it,—it never will be; and those who stand firm by the Company will in the end find that they have made the best choice.' The Rajah's reply was, 'I believe you are right;' and he transmitted that doctrine down to those who came after him. There, I believe, is the reason of Gwalior remaining firm, when so many other princes have fallen from us, because Christian principles had been there brought to bear upon the rulers of that people."

The conclusion that this eloquent advocate for missions drew was a just one, but let me add, that during the short time of my residence there, two officers were assistants for the affairs of Scindiah's dominions,—Colonel Durand and Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear; and two nobler men, or two more decided and judicious Christians, could not be found.

When all these things are considered in relation to Gwalior, and the Christians who have been resident there, the course of events in that territory is encouraging.

On good authority I can add, that when the mutineers of the Contingent reproached the Maharajah with inconsistency in fighting against his religion, his Highness replied, "If such murders and atrocities are part of my religion, I will have no more of it." May the Holy

Spirit keep him in that mind, and make him a companion of the youthful Dhuleep Sing, and so add a second native prince of India to the followers of Christ !

If you reflect on the trifling act which lit up the flame of this rebellion, you will find that, simple as the question of the greased cartridges may appear, it is one which has had its type in days gone by, both as to the hostile people whom it reconciled, as well as to the ultimate result which this reconciliation brought about. The set purpose of the Government of India, to interdict the reading of the Word of God, and refusing even to allow it to be used as we should the Latin and Greek authors, as a book of classical lore—such conduct appears on their part, to have been, as it were, going out of their way to be wicked, and courting the blow of God's avenging hand.

The minute of the Court of Directors, of 1847 (which, by the bye, does not prove much in favour of the popularity among the natives of the system of education promoted by the local government—there being a total of 23,163 scholars, out of 30 millions who ought to be

receiving education), printed by order of the House of Commons in 1852, in reply to the recommendation of the Council of Education at Madras, is framed with all the studied language of firm opposition to the free course and glorification of the Word of God.—(See Addenda.) The proceedings of the court-martial which condemned a sepoy to disgrace at Meerut because he had received God's grace, and become a Christian—the minutes which forbade for years all interference with the murderous rites of the Hindoos, have been treasured up against us in the mind of an omniscient and jealous God, and at last they have been revived and brought out before the fire of God's anger—a baptism of blood has followed, to usher in, however, we trust, another hundred years, to be marked, let us pray, by more submission to the cross of Christ, in the Indian Government, in the civil and military officers, and in the natives of the country committed to England's care.

National punishments like those from which we are now suffering, generally fall many years after the sins which have provoked them have been committed, and, consequently,

the innocent suffer with, if not for, the guilty.

God must indeed have been long-suffering to pass by such national crimes as those committed and permitted by the Indian Government so many years ago, and through so long a period.

For again, the researches of Dr. Buchanan have placed on record the following facts, which justify God in his dealings with us, as a nation, and make Him clear when He is judged:—

“We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (Buddruck in Orissa, May 30, 1806)—and yet we are more than fifty miles from it—by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2,000 in number, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some of them, with whom I have conversed, say that they have been two months on their march, travelling slowly in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Some old persons are among them, who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road, and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the Pilgrims' Caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking tameness. The

obscene animals will not leave the body sometimes till we come close to them. This Buddruck is a horrid place. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other; surely Juggernaut cannot be worse than Buddruck."

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"In sight of Juggernaut, June 12, 1806.—Many thousands of pilgrims have accompanied us for some days past. They cover the road before and behind as far as the eye can reach. At nine o'clock this morning, the temple of Juggernaut appeared in view at a great distance. When the multitude first saw it, they gave a shout, and fell to the ground and worshipped. I have heard nothing to-day but shouts and acclamations by the successive bodies of pilgrims. From the place where I now stand I have a view of a host of people, like an army, encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut, where a guard of soldiers is posted *to prevent their entering the town until they have paid the pilgrim's tax*. I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut, by the length of his body, as a penance of merit to please the god."

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"Outer Gate of Juggernaut, June 12, 1806.—A disaster has just occurred. As I approached the gate, the pilgrims crowded from all quarters around me, and shouted, as they usually did when I passed them on the road, an expression of welcome and respect. I was

a little alarmed at their number, and looked round for my guard. A guard of soldiers had accompanied me from Cuttack, the last military station ; but they were now about a quarter of a mile behind, with my servants and the baggage. The pilgrims cried out that they were entitled to some indulgence, that they were poor, that they could not pay the tax ; but I was not aware of their design. At this moment, when I was within a few yards of the gate, an old *Sanyassee*, or holy man, who had travelled some days by the side of my horse, came up and said, ‘ Sir, you are in danger ; the people are going to rush through the gate when it is opened for you.’ I immediately dismounted, and endeavoured to escape to one side ; but it was too late. The mob was now in motion, and with a tumultuous shout pressed violently towards the gate. The guard within, seeing my danger, opened it ; and the multitude rushing through, carried me forward in the torrent a considerable space, so that I was literally borne into Juggernaut by the Hindoos themselves. A distressing scene followed. As the number and strength of the mob increased, the narrow way was choked up by the mass of people ; and I apprehended that many of them would have been suffocated, or bruised to death. My horse was yet among them. But suddenly one of the side-posts of the gate, which was of wood, gave way and fell to the ground. And perhaps this circumstance alone prevented the loss of lives. Notice of the event was immediately communicated to Mr. Hunter, the superintendent of the temple, who repaired to the spot, and sent an additional guard to the inner gate, lest the

people should force that also; for there is an outer and an inner gate to the town of Juggernaut, but both of them are slightly constructed. Mr. Hunter told me that similar accidents sometimes occur, and that many have been crushed to death by the pressure of the mob. He added that sometimes a body of pilgrims (consisting chiefly of women and children, and old men), trusting to the physical weight of their mass, will make what he called a *charge*, on the armed guards, and overwhelm them; the guards not being willing, in such circumstances, to oppose their bayonets."

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"Juggernaut, June 14, 1806.—I have seen Juggernaut. The scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the 'Valley of Hinnom.' The idol called Juggernaut has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

"This morning I viewed the temple,—a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive



away of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and varied) of that vice which constitutes the essence of *his* worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and another place, a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth, and where dogs and vultures are ever seen.\*

"The grand Hindoo festival of the Rutt Jattra takes place on the 18th inst., when the idol is to be brought forth to the people. I reside during my stay here at the house of James Hunter, Esq., the Company's collector of the tax on pilgrims, and superintendent of the temple, formerly a student in the College of Fort William; by whom I am hospitably entertained, and also by Captain Patton and Lieutenant Woodcock, commanding the military force. Mr. Hunter distinguished himself at the college by his proficiency in the

\* "The vultures generally find out the prey first, and begin with the intestines; for the flesh of the body is too firm for their beaks immediately after death. But the dogs soon receive notice of the circumstance, generally from seeing the *hurries*, or corpse-carriers, returning from the place. On the approach of the dogs, the vultures retire a few yards and wait till the body be sufficiently torn for easy deglutition. The vultures and dogs often feed together, and sometimes begin their attack before the pilgrim be quite dead. There are four animals which may be seen about a carcase at the same time; viz. the dog, the jackal, the vulture, and the *hurgeela* or adjutant, called by Pennant, the gigantic crane.

Oriental languages. He is a gentleman of polished manners and of classical taste. The agreeable society of these gentlemen is very refreshing to my spirits in the midst of the present scenes. I was surprised to see how little they seemed to be moved by the scenes at Juggernaut. They said they were now so accustomed to them, they thought little of them. They had almost forgotten their first impressions. Their houses are on the seashore, about a mile or more from the temple. They cannot live nearer, on account of the offensive effluvia of the town; for, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims, many of whom die in the streets of want or of disease; while the devotees, with clotted hair and painted flesh, are seen practising their various austerities and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town, in public view; and the sacred bulls walk about among them and eat the *ordure*.\*

"The vicinity of Juggernaut to the sea probably prevents the contagion which otherwise would be produced by the putrefaction of the place. There is scarcely any verdure to refresh the sight near Juggernaut; the temple and town being nearly encompassed

\* "This singular fact was pointed out to me by the gentlemen here. There is no vegetation for the sacred bulls on the sand-plains. They are fed generally with vegetables from the hands of the pilgrims."

by hills of sand, which have been cast up in the lapse of ages by the surge of the ocean. All is barren and desolate to the eye ; and in the ear there is the never-intermitting sound of the roaring sea."

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"Juggernaut, June 18, 1806. — I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes, and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance ; all eyes were turned towards the place—and, behold, a *grove* advancing. A body of men, having green branches or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them ; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon, and worshipped. And the multitude again sent forth a voice 'like the sound of a great thunder.' But the voices I now heard, were not those of melody or of joyful acclamation ; for there is no harmony in the praise of Moloch's worshippers. Their number, indeed, brought to my mind the countless multitude of the Revelations ; but their voices gave no tuneful Hosanna or Hallelujah ; but rather a yell of approbation, united

with a kind of hissing applause.\* I was at a loss how to account for this latter noise, until I was directed to notice the women, who emitted a sound like that of whistling, with the lips circular and the tongue vibrating; as if a serpent would speak by their organs, uttering human sounds.

“ The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables of the size and length of a ship’s cable, by which the people drew it along. Thousands of men, women, and children pulled by each cable, crowding so closely, that some could only use one hand. Infants are made to exert their strength in this office, for it is accounted a merit of righteousness to move the god. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. I was told that there were about a hundred and twenty persons upon the car altogether. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons, which sounded musically as they moved.

“ I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch, which, at it was drawn with difficulty, ‘grated

\* “ See Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book x.

on its many wheels harsh thunder.\*\* After a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began. A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people, who responded at intervals in the same strain. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can only move when he is pleased with the song.' The car moved on a little way and then stopped. A boy of about twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. I felt a consciousness of doing wrong in witnessing it. I was also

\* "Two of the military gentlemen had mounted my elephant that they might witness the spectacle while I walked, and had brought him close to the tower; but the moment it began to move, the animal, alarmed at the unusual noise, took fright and ran off through the crowd till he was stopped by a wall. The natural fear of the elephant lest he should injure human life was remarkably exemplified on this occasion. Though the crowd was very closely set, he endeavoured, in the midst of his own terror, to throw the people off on both sides with his feet, and it was found that he had only trod upon one person. It was with great concern I afterwards learnt that this was a poor woman, and that the fleshy part of her leg had been torn off. There being no medical person here, Lieut. Woodcock, with great humanity, endeavoured to dress the wound, and attended her daily; and Mr. Hunter ordered her to be supplied with everything that might conduce to her recovery."

somewhat appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle; I felt like a guilty person on whom all eyes were fixed, and I was about to withdraw. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former — now comes the blood.

“After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forwards. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to *smile* when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the proprietors of India stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue.”

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“‘Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood  
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears.’—*Milton*.”

“Juggernaut, June 20, 1826.—The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the

road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case ; but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the Place of Skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones.

“ And this, thought I, is the worship of the Brahmins of Hindostan, and their worship in its sublimest degree ! What then shall we think of their private manners, and their moral principles ? For it is equally true of India as of Europe ; if you would know the state of the people, look at the state of the Temple.

“ I was surprised to see the Brahmins with their heads uncovered in the open plain falling down in the midst of the *Sooders* before the ‘ horrid shape,’ and mingling so complacently with that polluted caste. But this proved what I had before heard, that so great a god is this, that the dignity of high caste disappears before him. This great king recognizes no distinction of rank among his subjects, all men are equal in his presence.”

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“ Juggernaut, June 21, 1806. — The idolatrous processions continue for some days longer, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away from this place sooner than I at first intended. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the Place of Skulls—a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing

the children. I asked them where was their home. They said, 'they had no home but where their mother was.'—O, there is no pity in Juggernaut! no mercy, no tenderness of heart in Moloch's kingdom! Those who support *his* kingdom, err, I trust, from ignorance. 'They know not what they do.'"

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"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of the numbers at particular festivals, usually say that a lac of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed? 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there are in a handful of sand?'

"The languages spoken here are various, as there are Hindoos from every country in India; but the two chief languages in use by those who are resident, are the Orissa and the Telinga. The border of the Telinga country is only a few miles distant from the tower of Juggernaut."\*

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"Chilka Lake, June 24.—I felt my mind relieved and happy when I had passed beyond the confines of Juggernaut. I certainly was not prepared for this scene; but no one can know what it is who has not

\* "It will give pleasure to the reader to hear that a translation of the holy Scriptures is preparing in *Orissa* and *Telinga*, the languages of Juggernaut."



seen it. From an eminence\* on the pleasant banks of the Chilka Lake (where no human bones are seen) I had a view of the lofty tower of Juggernaut, far remote ; and while I viewed it, its abominations came to mind. It was on the morning of the Sabbath. Ruminating long on the wide and extended empire of Moloch in the heathen world, I cherished in my thoughts the design of some Christian institution, which, being fostered by Britain, my Christian country, might gradually undermine this baleful idolatry, and put out the memory of it for ever.

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*“Annual expenses of the idol JUGGERNAUT, presented to the English Government.*

“ [Extracted from the Official Accounts.]

	Rs.	£.
1. Expenses attending the table of the idol ...	36,115	or 4,514
2. Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel ...	2,712	339
3. Ditto of the wages of his servants ...	10,057	1,259
4. Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons of pilgrimage ...	10,989	1,373
5. Ditto of his elephants and horses...	3,030	378
6. Ditto of his rutt or annual state-carriage ...	6,713	839
Total ...	69,616	8,702

“In item third, ‘wages of his servants,’ are included the wages of the courtesans who are kept for the service of the temple.

\* “Manickpatam.

"Item sixth.—What is here called in the official account 'the state carriage,' is the same as the car or tower. Mr. Hunter informed me that the three 'state carriages' were decorated this year (in June, 1806) with upwards of £200 sterling worth of English broad cloth.

"Of the rites celebrated in the interior of Juggernaut, called the 'daily service,' I can say nothing of my own knowledge, not having been within the temple."\*

\* "At the temple of Juggernaut the English Government levy a tax on pilgrims as a source of revenue. The first law enacted by the Bengal Government for this purpose, was entitled 'A Regulation for levying a tax from pilgrims resorting to the temple of Juggernaut, and for the superintendence and management of the temple. — Passed 3rd of April, 1806.' Another regulation was passed in Bengal in April, 1809, rescinding so much of the former as related to the 'interior management and control' of the temple; but sanctioning the levying the tax from pilgrims for admission to the temple; allotting a sum towards the expenses of the idol; and appointing an officer of Government to collect the tax. Of this second regulation, the author received no intimation until the third edition of this work was put to press. In the former editions, it was stated that the temple was under the immediate management and control of the English Government; which he is now happy to find was not the fact at the time. Whether the account of the new regulation had reached England before the 1st of July, 1810, when he had occasion first to notice the subject, he does not know. But he has it now in his power to communicate to the public the following authentic information, which, in justice to the Honourable Court of Directors as to the part they have taken in this matter, ought to be known.

"When the Bengal Government first announced their regulation of the 3rd of April, 1806, to the Court of Directors (which they did by letter dated 16th May, 1806), they communicated their intention of making the following alterations therein;—namely, to permit 'certain officers of the temple to collect their fees directly from the pilgrims, agreeably to former usage, instead of receiving the amount of those fees from the public treasury;

## "JUGGERNAUT IN BENGAL.

"Lest it should be supposed that the rites of Jugger-naut are confined to the temple in Orissa, or that the Hindoos there practise a more criminal superstition than they do in other places, it may be proper to notice

to allow the pundits, who are to superintend the affairs of the temple, to be elected by particular classes of persons attached to it, instead of being appointed by the Government; and to vest in the pundits so elected the entire control over the temple and its ministers and officers, as well as over the funds allotted for its expenses; restricting the interference of the officers of Government to the preservation of the peace of the town, to the protection of pilgrims from oppression and extortion, and to the collection of the tax to be appropriated to the use of Government.'

"When this subject came under the notice of the Court of Directors in the year 1808, they thought it proper to propose a distinct statement of their opinions upon it to the Bengal Government; and they prepared a letter, wherein they enjoined that the Government should not elect the priests who were to superintend the affairs of the temple, or exercise a control over its ministers and officers, or take the management of its funds; and that the exercise of the authority of the Government should extend only to objects falling directly within the province of the magistrate; as the care of the police, the administration of justice, and the collection of such a tax, professedly for these ends, as should be required for the due attainment of them; not subjecting the Hindoos to any tax for access to their place of devotion, or under the notion of granting them a religious privilege, or of tolerating idolatry, in consideration of money. The Court of Directors, however, were overruled in this proceeding by a superior authority, which thought it sufficient to acquiesce generally in what the Bengal Government, in their above-mentioned letter of 16th May, 1806, proposed should be done.

"By the same superior authority another despatch was substituted to that effect, in which it was stated, that as the tax on pilgrims resorting to Allahabad and Jugger-naut was established during the Nawab's and the Mahratta government, there did not appear to be any objection to its continuance under the British Government.

"This

the effects of the same idolatry in Bengal. The English nation will not expect to hear that the blood of Juggernaut is known at Calcutta ; but, alas ! it is shed at the very doors of the English, almost under the eye of the supreme government. Moloch has many a tower in the province of Bengal ; that fair and fertile province, which has been called ‘the Garden of Nations.’ Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa on the river’s side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of Go-

“This substituted despatch went, as the law directs, in the name of the Court of Directors, although it was in opposition to their sentiments. But, before it arrived in Bengal, the Government there had passed, by their own authority, the regulation of April, 1809.

“That part of the province of Orissa which contains the temple of Juggernaut, first became subject to the British empire under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, who permitted the pilgrims at first to visit Juggernaut without paying tribute. It was proposed to his lordship, soon after, to pass the regulation first above mentioned for the management of the temple and levying the tax ; but he did not approve of it, and actually left the government without giving his sanction to the opprobrious law. When the measure was discussed by the succeeding Government, it was resisted by George Udney, Esq., one of the members of the Supreme Council, who recorded his solemn dissent on the proceedings of Government, for transmission to England. The other members considered Juggernaut to be a legitimate source of revenue, on the principle, I believe, that money from other temples in Hindostan had long been brought into the treasury. It is just that I should state that these gentlemen are men of the most honourable principles and of unimpeached integrity ; nor would any one of them, I believe (for I have the honour to know them), do anything which he thought injurious to the honour or religion of his country. But the truth is this, that those persons who go to India in early youth, and witness the Hindoo customs all their life, seeing little at the same time of the Christian religion to counteract the effect, are disposed to view them with complacency, and are sometimes in danger of at length considering them even as proper or necessary.”

vernor Hastings, and within view of the present Governor-General's country-house, there is a temple of this idol, which is often stained with human blood. At the festival of the Rutt Jattrra, in May, 1807, the author visited it, on his return from the South of India, having heard that its rites were similar to those of Juggernaut."

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"The tower here (Juggernaut's Temple, near Ishera, on the Ganges: Rutt Jattrra, May, 1807) is drawn along, like that at Juggernaut, by cables. The number of worshippers at this festival is computed to be about a hundred thousand. The tower is covered with indecent emblems, which were freshly painted for the occasion, and were the objects of sensual gaze by *both* sexes. One of the victims of this year was a well-made young man, of healthy appearance and comely aspect. He had a garland of flowers round his neck, and his long black hair was dishevelled. He danced for a while before the idol, singing in an enthusiastic strain; and then rushing suddenly to the wheels, he shed his blood under the tower of obscenity.\* I was not at the spot

\* "This case was fully authenticated at the time, and reported by eye-witnesses in Calcutta. *Old Indians in England will sometimes observe that, though they lived many years in the East, they never saw such things.* It is very possible that they did not, if they never inquired into them. Will a Hindoo servant tell his master that a woman is burning alive, or that blood is shed under the wheels of Juggernaut? Certainly not. He knows that his master, if he be a man of any feeling, will disapprove of such inhumanity; and the Hindoo has no desire to hear the bloody rites of his religion commented on at a Christian table. He will rather conceal the fact, and will have

at the time, my attention having been engaged by a more pleasing scene.

“On the other side, on a rising ground by the side of a tank, stood the Christian missionaries, and around them a crowd of people listening to their preaching. The town of Serampore, where the Protestant missionaries reside, is only about a mile and a half from this temple of Juggernaut. As I passed through the multitude, I met several persons having the printed papers of the missionaries in their hands. Some of them were reading them very gravely; others were laughing with each other at the contents, and saying, ‘What do these words mean?’

“I sat down on an elevated spot to contemplate this scene,—the tower of blood and impurity on the one hand, and the Christian preachers on the other. I thought on the commandment of our Saviour: ‘Go ye, teach all nations.’ I said to myself, ‘How great and glorious a ministry are these humble persons now

more satisfaction in promoting his master’s pleasures, and in supplying him with the narcotic and soul-composing *hooka*. Of the Hindoo scenes around him (even those in which his own domestics bear a part) there is no man in general more ignorant than the English sahib (master). About the year 1798, twenty-eight Hindoos were reported to have been crushed to death at this very place (Ishera) under the wheels of Juggernaut, impelled by sympathetic religious frenzy. The fact of their deaths was notorious, and was recorded in the Calcutta newspapers.

“But so little impression did it make on the public mind, and so little inquiry was made by individuals on the subject, that it became doubtful at length whether the men perished by accident, or, as usual, by *self-devotement*; for it was said, that to qualify the enormity of the deed in the view of the English, some of the Hindoos gave out that the men fell under the wheels by *accident*.

exercising in the presence of God! How is it applauded by the holy angels, who 'have joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth!' and how far does it transcend the work of the warrior or statesman, in charity, utility, and lasting fame!' And I could not help wishing that the representatives of the Church of Christ in my own country had been present to witness this scene, that they might have seen how practicable it is to offer Christian instruction to our Hindoo subjects."

Now, mark; the Vellore mutiny first showed itself in that very year in which the law of April 3, 1806, above referred to, was passed in Bengal; and that mutiny was occasioned by an order respecting a turban to be worn by the troops, and by some other absurd interference with their beards. A piece of leather on the turban was said by the Mahommedan priests to have been made from the skin of a pig; and this thin end of the wedge they tried to drive home to the hearts and minds of the masses, both Moslems and Hindoos.

Can any one imagine a more elaborate piece of wickedness than the studied connection of our Government with Juggernaut, or a more ridiculous blunder than that which raised the Vellore mutiny?

But let me give you some particulars of the Vellore massacre, and you will see how mercifully it was suppressed. Colonel Fancourt was the first to fall, on July 10th, 1806, and with him several other officers. Colonel Gillespie, who commanded at Arcot, was an old friend of Fancourt, and but for an order coming into Arcot the day before, would have kept an engagement to dine with Fancourt at Vellore, and he would thus have fallen a prey to the mutinous spirit which he was so providentially preserved to suppress.

The following facts will convince you that God did not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities in that mutiny, any more than He has in this.

When Colonel Fancourt had been killed, Sergeant Brodie became the hero of the day, and he held his ground most manfully. So soon as Gillespie heard of the massacre at Vellore—which he did when he was on the road to Vellore to breakfast with his friend, and to explain his absence at dinner the evening before,—he collected a troop of the 19th dragoons, and ordered the gun-gallopers to follow him,—he went off himself at a racing



pace. Sergeant Brodie could scarcely have held out longer, and seeing Colonel Gillespie, under whom he had served in St. Domingo, rushing on to Vellore, and not knowing that the colonel was stationed at Arcot, he turned to his drooping comrades and said,—“ If Colonel Gillespie be alive, here he is at the head of the 19th dragoons, and God has sent him from the West Indies to save our lives in the East.” The colonel approached, and heedless of everything, rushed to the bastion and the gateway. There a chain, formed of the soldiers’ belts, being let down by Brodie, the colonel grasped it, and was pulled up the face of the work. The survivors of the 69th welcomed him as a deliverer; his dragoons soon came up, and the tide was turned, in time to prevent the insurgents being joined by 50,000 from Marawa, Mysore, and other parts; and thus a warning, which might have been more severe, was given and then turned away through human hands, by a God of love and mercy. Still we heeded not the lesson for some time, as the following accounts of the connection which we maintained with the custom of Suttee and Female Infanticide too plainly show.

## \* "IMMOLATION OF FEMALES.

" Before we proceed to show the happy effects of Christianity in those provinces of India where it has been introduced, it will be proper to notice that other sanguinary rite of the Hindoo superstition, the *female sacrifice*. The female sacrifice is twofold: there is the sacrifice of women, who are burned alive on the funeral pile of their husbands; and there is the murder of female children. We shall first advert to the sacrifice of women. The report of the number of women burned within the period of six months near Calcutta will give the reader some idea of the multitude who perish annually in India.

" ' REPORT of the number of women who were burned alive on the funeral pile of their husbands, within thirty miles round Calcutta, from the beginning of Bysakh (15th April) to the end of Aswin (15th October), 1804:—

	Women burned alive.
From Gurria to Barrypore, at eleven different places*	18
From Tolly's Nulla mouth to Gurria, at seventeen different places ... ..	36
From Barrypore to Buhipore, at seven places ... ..	11
From Seebpore to Baleea, at five places ... ..	10
From Baleea to Bydyabattee, at three places ... ..	3
From Bydyabattee to Bassbareea, at five places ... ..	10

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\* " See the names of the places and other particulars in *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India*.

Brought forward ... ..	88
From Calcutta to Burahnugur (or Barnagore), at four places ... ..	6
From Burahnugur to Chanok (or Barrackpore), at six places ... ..	13
From Chanok to Cachrapara, at four places ... ..	8

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Total of women burned alive in six months,  
near Calcutta ... .. 115 '

"The above report was made by persons of the Hindoo caste, deputed for that purpose, under the superintendence of the professor of the Shanscrit and Bengalee languages in the College of Fort William. They were ten in number, and were stationed at different places during the whole period of six months. They gave in their account monthly, specifying the particulars of each immolation; so that every individual instance was subject to investigation immediately after its occurrence.

"By an account taken in 1803, the number of women sacrificed during that year, within thirty miles round Calcutta, was 275.

"In the foregoing report of six months, in 1804, it will be perceived that no account was taken of burnings in a district to the west of Calcutta, nor further than twenty miles in some other directions; so that the whole number of burnings within thirty miles round Calcutta must have been considerably greater than is here stated."

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“SACRIFICE OF THE KOOLIN BRAHMIN'S THREE WIVES.

“ ‘ Calcutta, 30th Sept. 1807. — A horrid tragedy was acted, on the 12th instant, near Barnagore (a place about three miles above Calcutta). A Koolin Brahmin of Cammar-hatti, by name Kristo Deb Mookerjee, died at the advanced age of ninety-two. He had twelve wives;\* and three of them were burned alive with his dead body. Of these three, one was a venerable lady, having white locks, who had been long known in the neighbourhood. Not being able to walk, she was carried in a palanquin to the place of burning; and was then placed by the Brahmins on the funeral pile. The two other ladies were younger; one of them had a very pleasing and interesting countenance. The old lady was placed on one side of the dead husband, and the other two wives laid themselves down on the other side; and then an old Brahmin, the eldest son of the deceased, applied his torch to the pile, with unaverted face. The pile suddenly blazed, for it was covered with

\* “ ‘ The Koolin Brahmin is the purest of all Brahmins, and is privileged to marry as many wives as he pleases. The Hindoo families account it an honour to unite their daughters with a Koolin Brahmin. ‘ The *ghautucks*, or registrars of the Koolin caste, state that Rajeb Bonnerjee, now of Calcutta, has forty wives; and that Raj-chunder Bonnerjee, also of Calcutta, has forty-two wives, and intends to marry more: that Ramraja Bonnerjee, of Bicerampore, aged thirty years, and Pooran Bonnerjee, Rajkissore Chutterjee, and Roopram Mookerjee, have each upwards of forty wives, and intend to marry more; that Birjoo Mookerjee, of Bicerampore, who died about five years ago, had ninety wives.’ This account was authenticated at Calcutta, in the year 1804. See further particulars in *Memoir*, before quoted, p. 111.

combustibles ; and this human sacrifice was completed amidst the din of drums and cymbals and the shouts of Brahmins. A person present observed, ' Surely if Lord Minto were here, who is just come from England, and is not used to see women burned alive, he would have saved these three ladies.' The Mahomedan governors saved whom they pleased, and suffered no deluded female to commit suicide, without previous investigation of the circumstances, and official permission.

" ' In a discussion which this event has produced in Calcutta, the following question, has been asked, *Who was guilty of the blood of the old lady?* for it was manifest that she could not destroy herself? She was carried to be burned. It was also alleged that the Brahmin who fired the pile was not guilty, because he was never informed by the English Government that there was any immorality in the action. On the contrary, he might argue that the English, witnessing this scene daily, as they do, without remonstrance, acquiesced in its propriety. The Government in India was exculpated on the ground that the Government at home never sent any instructions on the subject ; and the Court of Directors were exculpated because they were the agents of others. It remained that the proprietors of India stock, who originate and sanction all proceedings of the Court of Directors, *were remotely accessory to the deed.*'

" The best vindication of the great body of proprietors, is this; that some of them never heard of the female sacrifice at all; and that few of them are acquainted with the full extent and frequency of the

crime.\* Besides, in the above discussion, it was taken for granted that the Court of Directors have done nothing towards the suppression of this enormity; and the Court of Proprietors have looked on without concern at this omission of duty. But this, perhaps, may not be the case. The question then remains to be asked—Have the Court of Directors at any time sent instructions to their Government in India to report on the means by which the frequency of the female sacrifice might be diminished, and the practice itself eventually abolished? *Or have the proprietors of India stock at any time instructed the Court of Directors to attend to a point of so much consequence to the character of the Company, and the honour of the nation?*

“That the abolition is practicable has been demonstrated; and that, too, by the most rational and lenient measures; and these means have been pointed out by the Brahmins themselves.†

“Had Marquis Wellesley remained in India, and been permitted to complete his salutary plans for the improvement of that distant empire (for he did not finish one half of the civil and political regulations which he had in view and had actually commenced), the *female*

\* “‘When Rao Lacka, grandfather of the present chief of Cutch, died, fifteen *rackelis* (concubines) were burnt at his funeral pile; but not one of his wives sacrificed themselves on this occasion. This ceremony is less expected from the wife than from the *rackeli*; and these unfortunate females conceive it a point of honour to consume themselves with their lords.’—See Colonel Walker’s *Official Report*, dated March 15, 1808, transmitted by the Bombay Government to the Honourable Court of Directors. Paragraph 160.

† “See them detailed in *Memoir*, before quoted, p. 49.

*sacrifice* would probably have been by this time abolished.\* The humanity and intrepid spirit of that nobleman abolished a yet more criminal practice, which was considered by the Hindoos as a religious rite and consecrated by custom—I mean the *sacrifice of children*. His Lordship had been informed that it had been a custom of the Hindoos to sacrifice children in consequence of vows, by drowning them or exposing them to the sharks and crocodiles; and that twenty-three persons had perished at Saugor in one month (January, 1801), many of whom were sacrificed in this manner. He immediately instituted an inquiry into the principle of this ancient atrocity, heard what natives and Europeans had to say on the subject, and then passed a law, ‘declaring the practice to be murder, punishable by death.’ The law is entitled, ‘A Regulation for preventing the sacrifice of children at Saugor and other places; passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 20th of August, 1802.’ The purpose of this regulation was completely effected. Not a murmur was heard on the subject, nor has any attempt of the kind come to our knowledge since. It is impossible to calculate the number of human lives that have been saved during the last eight years by this humane law of Marquis Wellesley. Now it is well known that it is as easy to prevent the sacrifice of women as the sacrifice of children. Has this fact ever been denied by any man who is competent to offer a judgment on the subject? Until the Supreme Government in

\* “*Memoir*, p. 47.

Bengal shall declare that it is utterly impracticable to lessen the frequency of the *immolation of females by any means, the author will not cease to call the attention of the English nation to this subject.*"

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"HINDOO INFANTICIDE; OR, MURDER OF  
FEMALE CHILDREN.

"The following relation will show what human nature can believe and perpetrate when destitute of the light from heaven.

"Among the Hindoo tribes called the Jarejah, in the provinces of Cutch and Guzerat, in the west of India, it is a custom to destroy female infants. 'The mother herself is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Women of rank may have their slaves and attendants who perform this office, but the far greater number execute it with their own hands.'\* In defence of this practice, these tribes allege, that the education of daughters is expensive; that it is difficult to procure a suitable settlement for them in marriage; that the

\* "They appear to have several methods of destroying the infant, but two are prevalent. Immediately after the birth of a female, they put into its mouth some opium, or draw the umbilical cord over the face, which prevents respiration. But the destruction of so tender and young a subject is not difficult, and it is effected without causing a struggle.'—Colonel Walker's *Report*, paragraph 55. Colonel Walker further states, that *Dadajee*, the Chief of Raj-kut, being interrogated as to the mode of killing the infants, emphatically said, 'What difficulty is there in blasting a flower?' He added, in allusion to the motives for infanticide, 'that the *rubaries* or goatherds in his country, allow the male kids to die when there are many of them brought forth.'



preservation of female honour is a charge of solicitude in a family ; and that when they want wives it is more convenient to buy them, or solicit them from another caste, than to breed them themselves.

“ This atrocity has been investigated and brought to light by the benevolent and truly laudable exertions of the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay ; to whom humanity is now indebted for one of her greatest victories. Mr. Duncan had instructed Colonel Walker, late political resident in Guzerat, to inform himself (in a military progress through that province) of the nature and extent of the practice of infanticide, and in the name of the British Government to endeavour to effect its abolition. The Bombay Government has now transmitted to the Court of Directors the official report from that officer, dated the 15th March, 1808 ; and from this document, detailed in 298 paragraphs, the following facts are given to the public. This disclosure seems to have been directed by Providence, at this time, to aid the councils of the British nation, when considering the obligations which are due from a Christian empire in regard to the moral improvement of its heathen subjects. But the fact of Hindoo infanticide is by no means new.\* Mr. Duncan himself was instrumental in abolishing the crime among the tribe of the Raj-kumars, in Juanpore, near Benares, in the year 1789. Indeed, the unnatural custom seems to have subsisted for more than 2,000 years ; for both Greek and Roman historians mention it, and refer to those very places (Bary-

\* “ See it noticed in *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India.*

gaza or Baroach) where it is now to be found. The number of females who were thus sacrificed in Cutch and Guzerat alone (for it is practised in several other provinces), amounted, by the very lowest computation (in 1807), to 3,000 annually. Other calculations vastly exceed that number.

“Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Walker had first the honour of appearing before this people as the advocate of humanity. He addressed them in his official character, and, as ambassador from the British nation, he entreated them *to suffer their daughters to live*. It seems that they had means of appreciating the private character of this officer, and they respected his virtues: but in regard to this *moral* negotiation, they peremptorily refused even to listen to it. The following are extracts of letters addressed to him on the occasion:—

“*Letter from the Jarejah JEHAJEE, of Murvee, to Colonel WALKER.—Sept. 24, 1807.*

“‘Your letter, sir, I have received, in which it is written to rear up and protect our daughters: but the circumstances of this case are, that from time immemorial the Jarejahs have never reared their daughters, nor can it now be the case.’

“*From the Mother of JEHAJEE to Colonel WALKER.—Sept. 24, 1807.*

“‘Your letter has been received and its contents understood. You have called upon Koer Jehajee to rear up his daughter; but it is so, that for many years past none of the Jarejah tribes have ever reared their

female offspring. Further particulars of this concern you will learn from Koer Jehajee's writing; and you must excuse him on this score.'—See No. 13, referred to in Colonel Walker's report.

*“ Letter from FUTTEH MAHOMED, Jemadar to Colonel WALKER.—Oct. 21, 1807.*

“ ‘ It is notorious, that since the Avatara (or Incarnation) of Sri Chrishna, the people (Jarejahs), who are descended from the Jadoos, have, during a period of 4,900 years, been accustomed to *kill their daughters*: and it has, no doubt, reached your knowledge, that all of God's creation, even the mighty Emperors of Hindostan, besides all others, the conductors of the affairs of this world, have preserved friendship with this court, and never acted in this respect (female infanticide) unreasonably. But you, who are an Amir (Lord) of the Great Sirkar, the honourable Company, having written to me on this subject, I have derived much uneasiness, for it does not accord with your good character. This durbar has always maintained friendship with the honourable Company; and, notwithstanding this, you have acted so unreasonably in this respect that I am much distressed. No one has, until this day, wantonly quarrelled with this court, who has not, in the end, suffered loss. Do not again address me on this subject.’—See No. 20, as above.

“ How conclusive, in regard to any further interference, would these letters have been deemed by some! ‘ What more,’ it would be said, ‘ can be done with *prudence*? Enthusiasm alone would dictate further soli-

citude about this matter.' But Colonel Walker did not desist from his benevolent purposes, because he met with some *obstacles*; because he *wished* to overcome them.\* He sought opportunities of informing the understandings of the people in respect to the nature of the crime; and he discovered that it was generated by pride, avarice, and the alleged inferiority of woman. 'By discussing the subject frequently in the public cutcherry (the court of justice), and exposing the enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature, every caste came at length to express an abhorrence of infanticide; and the obstinate principles of the Jarejahs began to be shaken.' And what was the result? Within twelve months of the date of the foregoing letters, Jarejah Jehajee himself, Jehajee's mother, and Futteh Mahomed, formally abjured the practice of infanticide, and were soon followed by the Jarejah tribes in general. Jehajee first transmitted a writing to the following effect: 'From motives of friendship the honourable Company have

\* "When Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, apprized the Supreme Government in Bengal of his intention to endeavour to abolish the practice of murdering female children in Guzerat, he received in answer an expression of their approbation in the following measured terms, dated the 31st July, 1806:—'We cannot but contemplate with approbation the considerations of humanity which have induced you to combine with the proposed expedition the project of suppressing the barbarous custom of female infanticide. But the speculative success even of that benevolent project cannot be considered to justify the prosecution of measures which *may expose to hazard the essential interests of the state*; although, as a collateral object, the pursuit of it would be worthy of the benevolence and humanity of the British Government.'—Moor's *Hindoo Infanticide*, p. 37.

urged me to preserve my daughters. To this I consent, if the chiefs of Nowanaggar and Gondal agree.' Shortly after, these chiefs did agree, and bound themselves by a solemn engagement, in 1808, to discontinue the practice.

"About the end of the year 1809, many of the Jarejah fathers brought their infant daughters to Colonel Walker's tent, 'and exhibited them with pride and fondness. Their mothers and nurses also attended on this interesting occasion. True to the feelings which are found in other countries to prevail so forcibly, the emotions of nature here exhibited were extremely moving. The mothers placed the infants in the hands of Colonel Walker, calling on him to protect what he alone had taught them to preserve. These infants they emphatically called *his* children.'\*

"The following is an extract of a letter from the Government of Bombay to the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 20th January, 1809 :—'We congratulate your Honourable Court on the prospect thus afforded of extirpating from the peninsula of Guzerat a custom so long prevalent, and so outrageous to humanity. This object will not be lost sight of; and, trusting to the aid of Divine Providence, we look with confidence to its gradual, but certain, accomplishment, to such a degree as may form an era in the history of Guzerat, lastingly creditable to the English name and influence.'

"This event affords an invaluable lesson concerning the character of the Hindoos, and the facility of civil-

\* "*Moor's Hindoo Infanticide*, p. 303.

izing them. What was effected in Guzerat, in regard to the murder of children, is equally practicable in Bengal as to the burning of women, and at Juggernaut as to self-murder under Moloch's tower. 'By discussing the subject frequently,' says Colonel Walker, 'in the public cutcherry, and exposing the enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature, the obstinate principles of the Jarejahs began to be shaken.' Now we would ask, what is there to prevent the custom of burning women alive from being discussed in the public cutcherry of Calcutta, and 'exposing the enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature?'

"The English nation have a right to demand an answer to this question from the Supreme Government of Bengal.

"The number of females sacrificed in the provinces of Cutch and Guzerat amounted (as was before mentioned) to three thousand and upwards annually. 'The Jarejahs,' says Colonel Walker, 'will sometimes remark that their *gurus*, or priests, are poor and despised, which they made no scruple of attributing to the sin of infanticide, and from the wrath of God for having the weight of that crime on their heads. This singular opinion, expressed nearly in their own words, instead of producing an abhorrence of the act, has served to confirm their idea that they have nothing to do with its responsibility and punishment.'—(Par. 189.) It is worthy of remark, that in almost all countries it is usual to impose the chief responsibility for national

immorality on the priests, and, we think, with much justice. The moral turpitude of the rites of Juggernaut is, in this way, excused by the people. 'It is,' say they, 'the sin of the priests, not ours.' In Christian countries, also, there is sometimes a secret persuasion in the minds of men, that the priest preaches the doctrine of 'the god of this world, and not the doctrine of Christ.' But they try to justify themselves in listening to it, and in 'conforming to the world.' It is, say they, the sin of the priest, not ours. It will, we apprehend, appear to be an awful thing, at the hour of death, to have entered into the priest's office.

"A Jarejah chief, by name Huttajee, who had preserved his daughters, contrary to the custom, brought them to the British camp to be vaccinated. They were between six and eight years of age; but they wore turbans, and were dressed and habited like boys, to avoid the taunts and reproaches of the people! 'As if ashamed or afraid of acknowledging their sex (even to the English), they assured Colonel Walker that they were not girls; and, with infantile simplicity, appealed to their father to corroborate their assertion.'—(Par. 137.) How shall we be able rightly to comprehend the mental debasement of this people! No sooner doth God create an immortal soul in a female form, than the parent destroys it! And if, by any means, the infant escape for a few years, she is contemplated as a reproach to their caste! And yet, abhorrent to natural feeling as this may appear, it is certain that it is only the extreme degree of a principle which is common to all the nations of the earth where Christianity is not known; namely,

a disposition to degrade the female character; for, unless a man can consider woman as a partaker of the immortality of the Gospel, and 'as being an heir together with him of the grace of life' (1 Pet. iii. 7), he will not account her his equal, or as entitled to equal honour. He will estimate her being in the scale merely of brute strength, and of power of intellect; that is, he will consider her as his inferior, and as formed to be the slave of his pleasures. And, we may add, the infidelity of Europeans tends directly to the same result. It is on record in the annals of nations, that philosophy, as well as idolatry, debased thus the female sex. Christianity alone ever did, Christianity alone ever can, give due honour to the character of *woman*, and exalt her to her just place in the creation of God.\*

"It will give pleasure to the mothers in Great Britain to hear that a translation of the Holy Scriptures is preparing for the inhabitants of Guzerat."†

Had the Government, as a government, acted on the principle which guided Colonel Walker, they would have embodied his spirit, and thus

\* "See, on this subject, Appendix to the *Eras of Light*, preached by the author before the University of Cambridge.

† "The *Guzerattee* has been cultivated by Mr. Drummond, surgeon on the Bombay establishment, who composed a Dictionary and Grammar in that language. And it appears, from the reports of the missionaries at Serampore, that they had commenced a version of the Scriptures in Guzerattee. The Jarejahs are described by Governor Duncan, of Bombay, as 'possessing but a very slight sense of religion; professing, indeed, but little more than nominally the Hindoo faith, and living almost indifferent to the doctrines of any of the Sastras.'—Moor's *Infanticide*, p. 39."



have effected generally throughout India, what this officer could only succeed in, locally. Every power, however, connected with India, has from time to time striven to carry out reforms, and it is most painful to remark, that on such vital questions, where one authority said "We will," the other replied "We will not," and *vice versâ*. The Government, however, in 1809, strove to disconnect themselves from the idol Juggernaut, but they continued to receive a tax from pilgrims. About this time Lord Wellesley and George Udney, Esq., made ineffectual attempts to prevent the Indian Governments from storing up for themselves the Divine displeasure, but they would not listen to their wise and faithful counsels. From the above you will agree in the opinion before expressed, that we have not deserved the Divine protection; and though wrath was averted by one who stood between the living and the dead, at the time of the Vellore mutiny; yet the consideration of these accounts in connection with Juggernaut, Female Infanticide, and Suttee, was only laid aside, and it is much to be feared, that, in the providence of God, they are now being *strictly audited*.

And not only so, but with the measure we permitted Hindoos and Moslems to deal with their countrymen, it has been meted out to our countrymen, their wives and children, by the natives; but with the addition of as vile atrocities as have ever polluted the earth, committed on our fathers and brothers, whose widows and sisters have been burned and flayed alive, and whose babes have been literally cut up.

Allusion, however, has been made to the political blunder which lit up the flame of this rebellion, and also to the opinion that cause and effect may again have their counterpart in the present, as in a former day of visitation to the world.

The safe position of our fellow-countrymen, in days gone by, in India, has in a great measure, humanly speaking, been owing to the well-known wall of hatred built up from the foundations of the systems respectively of the worshippers of Vishnu and the followers of the false prophet. And seeing that this religious hatred, by God's providence, had hitherto kept the two contending enemies of Christians engaged in fighting among them-

selves, the alarm which brought them together, confederate against their rulers, if traced to its foundation, will be found to have arisen from the foolishness of men.

Had the authorities sought for one hundred years to find a means to effect the cohesion of their Indian enemies, they could have discovered none so fit as that over which they stumbled in broad daylight, and with their eyes widely opened.

Yet, though warned of the danger which the order would occasion, as well as the handle it would furnish for wicked and designing men, the supremely profound wisdom which had interdicted the Scriptures, as likely, if permitted by Government to be read in their schools, to cause a revolt (whereas they everywhere are the heralds of Christian light and dying love); the local Government, by one uncharitable, injudicious, and forcible attempt to tamper with the prejudices of the natives, brought opposite factions together, reconciled enemies, made Pilate and Herod friends, who at once resolved to massacre and extirpate, if possible, all the followers of Christ. But as of old, His followers, in the triumph of the

heathen and in the wicked plots and counsels of rulers ordained of God, were proved to have been victorious, in the Crucifixion, which, though seemingly a temporary defeat, secured Satan's downfall and the redemption of our race; even now in the cruel mockings, and scourgings, and imprisonments, we, acknowledging God's correction, yet trace in the martyrs' blood poured out at Cawnpore and Delhi, the seeds of grace for India cast upon the inheritance of Christ.

The old exploded accusation that missionary operations caused the mutiny, would be almost too ridiculous to call for further notice, if it were not for the dreadful wickedness of the charge. Some Hindoo gentlemen, however, assembled at Calcutta, alluded to this declaration by a member of the House of Peers, and they actually laughed the notion to scorn; they spoke in admiration of the character and labours of the missionaries, and denounced the atrocities of the Sepoys as disgraceful to their race. They also expressed their belief that the ancient religion of the country would never be shaken by the efforts of these good men. Vain confidence! the god-

less system of education which the Government colleges have given them, has shaken their faith in their own creed, and they are practically infidels. A very remarkable contrast may be traced in the conduct of the local Government in India, and in the advice given by the Court of Directors to the young civilians proceeding from Haileybury to India.

SPEECH OF SIR J. W. HOGG, BART., M.P.

"June 12, 1852.

"To all of you, those who are finally leaving the institution, as well as those who will return to it, let me say, act continually and consistently upon Christian principles, and maintain strict attention to your religious duties. The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. Act as in His sight, and for His glory, and rest assured that Almighty Providence will preserve you amid dangers, guide you in difficulties, and direct you in the paths of righteousness and peace."

The following letter on education in India, and the address of Sir J. W. Hogg, Bart., M.P., appeared in the *Times*, June 12, 1852 :—

"EDUCATION IN INDIA.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"SIR,—With reference to an article in the *Times* of yesterday, headed 'Education in India,' I beg to state

the following facts. In 1847, the Bengal Government determined upon establishing a normal school at Calcutta, of which I, then a professor in the Hindoo College, was appointed principal, under the name of superintendent. I was asked by the editor of the *Calcutta Review* to contribute an article on the subject to that quarterly. And I did so, under the title of 'Normal Institutions in England and India.'

"In the course of that article I took a brief survey of the state of education in India, and urged the propriety of establishing professors of theology in the various government colleges, attendance on whose lectures should be voluntary on the part of the students. I had frequently seen students in the library of the Hindoo College, consulting the Bible, to elucidate some allusion in Shakspeare, Milton, or Bacon. I knew that many of them, the sons of rajahs and maharajahs, as well as of wealthy baboos, would willingly attend such lectures; and I further knew, that in learning geography and astronomy, they unlearned Hindooism, leaving the college avowed infidels for the most part, believers in nothing but in rupees. This article was brought under the notice of the Council of Education of Bengal. I was asked whether I was the writer of it; and, on confessing, was censured by the secretary in the name of the Council, for having made so heinous a proposal as to introduce the Bible under any form.

"Up to that period the normal school had been flourishing and promised well: from that moment the favour of the Council was withdrawn both from me and

from it. I resigned my situation in consequence in 1849, and the institution was abolished.

"These facts exhibit the determined animosity of the Government of Bengal to every Christian tendency.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"W. KNIGHTON.

"*Whitelands, Chelsea, June 10.*"

The more intellectual of the Calcutta Hindoo gentry may pass through two or three generations of deism and infidelity (such as Paine and Voltaire teach), but the Cross is overshadowing Hindooism,—they know and feel it; and soon the Sun of Righteousness may be expected to arise with healing in his wings, and illumine these millions of our fellow-subjects, who have been promised to Christ as his inheritance.

Before the mutiny, the advocate of Christian missions had this to fear, that two or three generations would have to pass away ere the masses of the people would lend their ear to the preaching of Christ crucified. But now they have been so shocked by the crimes which their superstitions lead to, that their faith in a creed, known to be so cruel, has been shaken to its foundations.

England, too, has been roused from her

lethargy in Indian affairs, and has been warned to set her house in order. It is most lamentable to all truly patriotic minds to find that men, who might otherwise be great statesmen, are so sadly ignorant of the first principles of political science, and that they do not see the only true basis on which a kingdom alone can be permanently established, even in this world.

But if missionary labours caused mutiny, we should certainly have mutinies by thousands; and more, they would never end,—not at least till the universal Church agreed to disobey *her* Lord, and rebel against her spiritual Head, Christ Jesus.

Lord Canning was paraded as a most injudicious man for subscribing to the Calcutta City Mission, *and to some societies to which he had not subscribed. Why not blame his lordship for giving to the Indian Relief Fund?* he may offend the prejudices of the poor natives, who conscientiously thought themselves in duty bound to slay the relatives of those who thus have been bereaved and made destitute.

His lordship has been blamed for acts which some have sneered at, as “attempts at con-



ciliation ;" but none can judge, so well as those who are on any particular spot of the disturbed districts, as to the best course to be pursued in this or that city or village. And, apart from higher considerations, let us bear in mind that discriminating mercy and stern justice may go hand in hand to make the task more easy for the future, in ruling the natives by firmness, since, being Christians, we dare not resolve to crush them. Oh, when will professedly Christian governments perform their duties in a straightforward, manly way, and so insure the blessing of God ?

But as long ago as 1810, Lieut.-General Hewitt, Commander-in-Chief, then Deputy-Governor of Bengal, subscribed £250, to furnish Hindoos with Bibles.

The chief officers of the Government and leading people in Calcutta raised the sum to £1,000, satisfied that it was an important duty and a Christian obligation. One thing at least, however, is certain : if the Government of India are not responsible for teaching what they, as Christians, hold to be *Truth*, they cannot be called upon to instruct from books containing such errors and impurities as the

“Bagh-o-Bahar” unfolds. The first, instruction in God’s Word, might very properly employ all the time of Christians; and the second, the perpetuation of falsehood, might very well be left to heathens.

The most distinguished men in the civil and military services have always been foremost in supporting missions. The late Lieut.-Governor of Agra, Mr. Thomason, the late Residents and the late Brigadier of Gwalior, and nearly all the officers of the Contingent, subscribed to the mission-schools, and no one in his senses ever thought that such conduct would foster a mutinous spirit.

In truth, both Hindoos and Mussulmans are thoroughly in earnest about their religion, and in proportion as we are so, they respect us. And therefore, when in making treaties with such a state as Gwalior, we agreed not to kill a bullock in the territory, because the Hindoos worship it as a sacred animal; when we stipulated that the officers should attend the Maharajah’s levee, and salute his Highness during an act of idolatrous worship; when we find officers of high rank and personally pious men, but fettered by official snares, bringing them-

selves to address the royal rebel at Delhi as "the shadow of God,"—we cannot marvel if the arm of our power be paralyzed, or if our kingdom be eaten up of worms, as a just judgment for saying, "It is the voice of a god and not of a man," to a wicked and licentious heathen, and for not giving all the glory to God.

When we know that such conduct on the part of the Government is only, as it were, a thing of yesterday, and that matters of late have most marvellously improved; when we recall to mind the state of society fifty years ago in England, and remember that the appointments for the most part were in the hands of those who had no proper sense of the responsibility attached to patronage; when we consider the terrible carelessness of the authorities, respecting the spiritual interests of their officers,—we must feel convinced that a black list of glaring crimes, committed among the heathen, and known fully only, it may be, to the Omniscient above, have helped to call down vengeance from on high, as a national warning to us all. Let one fact suffice: the Christian inhabitants at Meerut were not once assembled

there for divine worship, from the years of their Lord 1826 to 1833.


What we would ask of the Government—for their own sakes as a government, and on behalf of the Christians who may in future serve them—is, that they will *permit* God's Word to be read in their schools, when the natives themselves, attending, desire it. *It is a fearful crime for a nation, professedly Christian, to interdict the Word of Life*; and England, to a man, should protest against it. Speaking from experience, the natives for the most part prefer to attend at the schools where the Bible is read.

It is not at all certain that the last Act of Lord Dalhousie, in the cause of education in India, is one which the Christian Church can hail with unbounded admiration, since its provisions offer pecuniary assistance alike to Hindoos, Moslems, and Christians, in proportion to the amount raised for this purpose by the promoters of education. Still we have sufficient confidence in the vitality of Christianity, and in the energy of Christians, to prognosticate two results,—first, that the Christians, though few in number, will soon

entitle themselves to the largest share of the proposed grants ; and, secondly, that the masses of Hindostan will, as a consequence, be dissatisfied with this issue—in short, heathens will regard it as a conspiracy against their superstitions, and Christians will call it treason towards God and Christ. Better, far better, would it be if our rulers acted in religion as they do in naval and military warfare,—nail their colours to the mast, and stand or fall by the issue.

At present our prospects are gloomy enough ; but still the outbreak which we all deplore will be followed by temporal and spiritual changes, which perhaps, considering the imperfections of all earthly governments, could not have been secured by any less startling events than the judgments with which we have been visited in Hindostan. Let us hope that we shall be, both as a nation and as a Church, as zealous for the future to promote Christ's religion, as Hindoos and Moslems are to perpetuate their superstitions.

Thus the crisis may be hastened on, which must sooner or later come, to them as to other people, and nations, and kindreds, and tongues



—a crisis in which they must choose between opening their hearts and minds to the admission or rejection of that heavenly leaven, which will work its way, and bring about their conversion to Christ, or their condemnation by Him, their own consciences being judges.

In things of time and sense, too, we may believe that this day of visitation will have its redeeming benefits. A Christian bishop has left on record, that “in vain with lavish kindness the gifts of God are strewn;” and though his observation was, no doubt, restricted to those gifts which spring in abundance from the earth, we cannot suppose that the wonderful land of Hindostan is an exception to the rule of the Divine beneficence, and therefore be assured that our Eastern empire has yet to display untold wealth, which, it may be, a niggardly policy has hitherto condemned to be hidden, like other talents, in the earth.

The philanthropist, who burns with just indignation at the enormities of the slave-trade, may find in the advocacy of the growth of cotton and sugar in India a most effectual and practical medium for the abolition, with safety, of this horrid traffic.

The palm, the palmyra, and the date-tree—indigo, rice, silk, spices, and gums—fields of copper, lead, iron, coral, ivory, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones—and gold, also—conspire to invite the capital and energy of England to a more scientific development of the resources of the country and the coasts of India. We hear many objections raised about the difficulty of maintaining a large European force in India; and one argument is founded on the consequent increase of expenditure. There is a pretty general feeling in India that at present we have only seen the commencement of our troubles; but, anyhow, England, as a Christian and a commercial nation, ought to spend one hundred millions, and offer her most devout, and sacrifice her bravest, sons, rather than fail in her mission to India, or lose her power in that portion of Christ's inheritance. If, however, we, as a Christian nation, are convinced that it is our duty, in the cause of humanity, to hold India, all difficulties will vanish from our view, and we shall be enabled to overcome them as they rise, one by one. The spare time and attention of a large European force might

very well be employed in the development of the mineral resources of that territory, in excavating for railways, in overlooking those who repair roads, and in digging canals for the irrigation and the fertilization of the country. No doubt, a gracious Providence has placed all things necessary *for making India what England now is* within the reach of industry and intellect; it is for us to stretch out our hands at this eventful crisis; and although many be deterred by the fear of climate from looking to India as their future home, no place in the world can be better provided with *antidotes* for such *evils* as are commonly to be found in that country.

The neglect of India, especially in the non-development of her resources, has been so great, that if Parliament really sets to work in earnest to inquire minutely into the past, it will assuredly say to the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, "A plague on both your houses!" We have been playing with our prize, and henceforth India must be ruled by the Queen. India's rights and wrongs, however, are likely to be well debated in Parliament, and we cannot doubt that the personal experience of



THE TEMPLE.

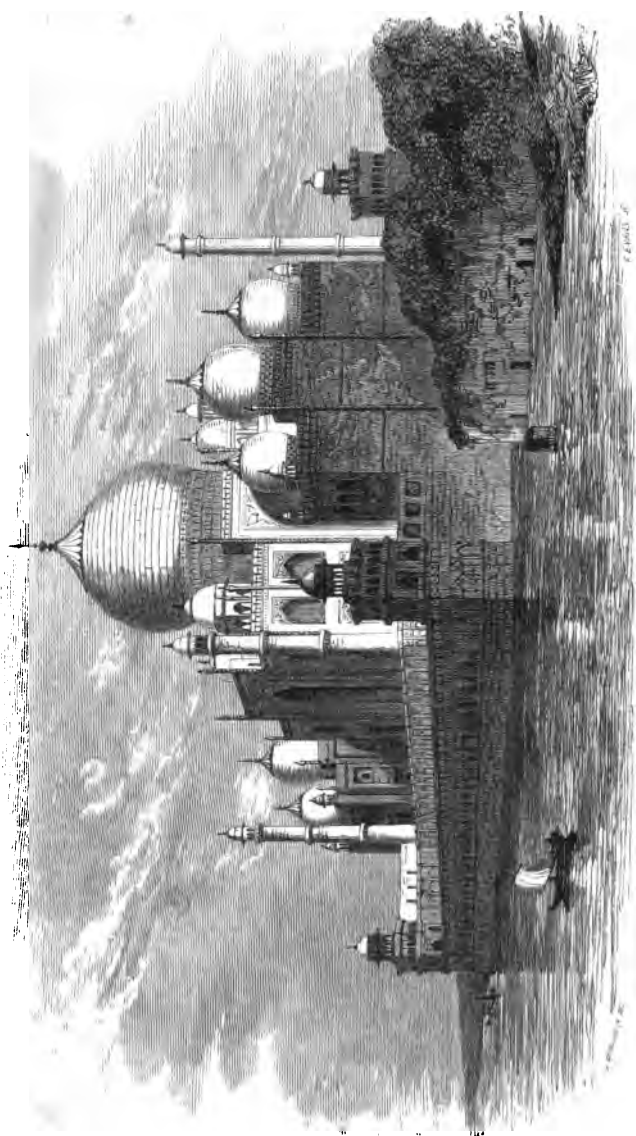
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THE TAJ MEHAL, AGRA.

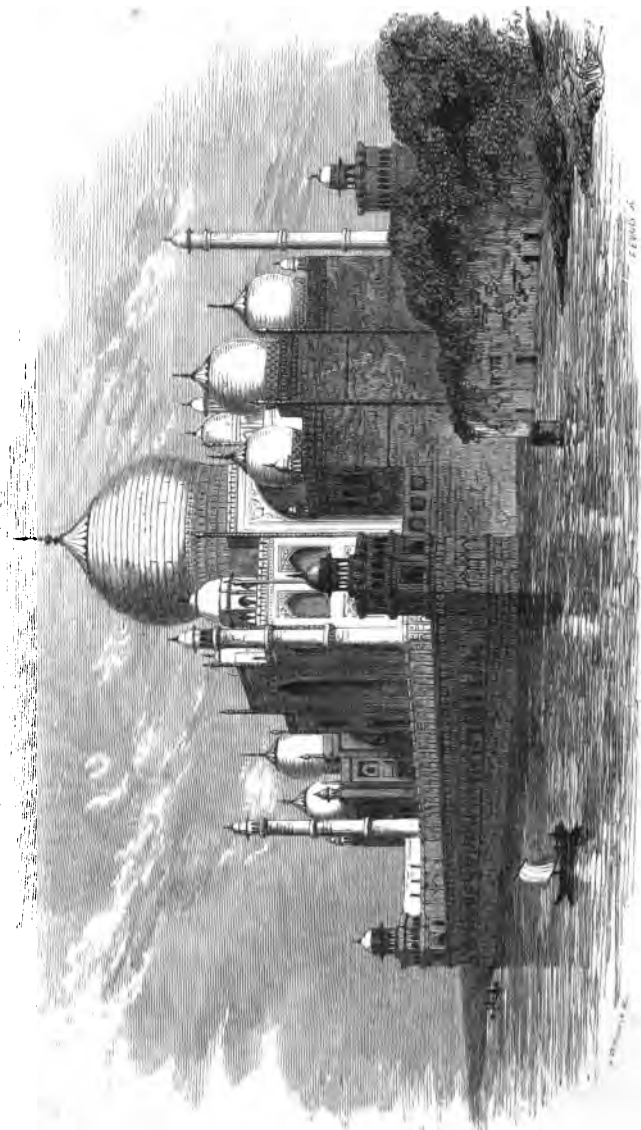
the late Lord Jocelyn, and of the present Lord Stanley, will be made available by the leaders of both parties, the present and the ex-premier of England.

It would be well, however, if the great majority of our countrymen would clear their minds from prejudice, and not allow themselves to form a judgment of the natives of India from this outbreak alone.

We may profitably compare their zeal for religion with our own, and trace in their honesty a warning and a censure to our commercial immorality.

When, some years since, it was my privilege in Agra to look on the magnificent Taj Mahal, which was raised by Shah Jehan to the memory of his beautiful wife, Noor Jehan, it occurred to me, that that temple stood to teach us a lesson; and one wish was uppermost in my mind, that it might become the cathedral of a Christian bishop.

The building itself is composed of white marble, and inlaid with precious stones, formed into the most exquisite devices. Shah Jehan, *i.e.* "the King of the World,"—aided by Mahomedans, the followers of the prophet, who



THE TAJ MEHAL, AGRA.



came from all parts of India to work at the Taj, as a mark of reverence to the king, and to the memory of Noor Jehan, *i.e.* "the Light of the World,"—erected this wonderful structure. And so a mausoleum temple was reared, of white marble and precious stones.

We are commanded by the Lord of heaven and earth, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, to build up a temple of redeemed souls, washed white in the blood of the Lamb, and able to endure the fire which shall destroy wood, hay, and stubble, and all dross, leaving only purified gold and precious stones; who shall be acknowledged as His, by the Redeemer, as parts of that temple, the top-stone of which shall be laid, amidst the shouts of Grace, grace, unto it. Have we been as zealous in raising a temple to Christ, the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as the followers of the false prophet were in raising one to Noor Jehan who was falsely so called?

The tomb of Noor Jehan "cost 3,174,000*l.*, and 20,000 labourers and architects, under Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman, were employed in its erection during twenty-two years."

The total sum collected by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, since 1701, is about 2,500,000*l.*, and a like sum by the Church Missionary Society since 1799 ; so that in 157 years Christians have thus expended five millions in honour of Christ, while the followers of the false prophet, in twenty-two years, gave nearly that sum in memory of Noor Jehan. What a vast amount have Hindoos and Mussulmans expended on their temples and idolatrous worship since 1701 !

Events of late have led us to regard the Hindoos also with abhorrence ; but again we should remember that we have ignored our own religion and fostered their superstition, and part of that superstition is connected with cruelty, plunder, and bloodshed.

The devotees of Juggernaut admonish us—we would not endure for conscience' sake one-tenth of the privations which they voluntarily bear with cheerfulness.

In the murders that have been committed, in the massacres that have taken place, and in the slaughters of the innocents, my mind has only been able to come to one conclusion ; and it is this : *for years we sowed*

*the wind, and we have reaped the whirlwind.*

Possessed of the truth of God, depositories of the faith which acknowledges the power of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, we have done little or nothing during one hundred years to disabuse the minds of the myriads of India of the absurdities and cruelties to which their TRIAD binds them. They have Vishnu for their creator, Krishna for their preserver, but alas ! they have no *Saviour* ; they have in His place SIVA, *the destroyer*, who is specially appeased by bloody sacrifices of female infants—almost the worst form of female infanticide. Shall we perpetuate the ritual which encourages deeds of blood, and expect to find that the blood of our innocents shall be respected ? Think you that we could stand guiltless by, and know that the widow's son—it may have been the only son of his mother, and she a widow—was about to light the funeral pile to consume the dead body of his father, and the living body of his widowed mother, so cutting short the time of probation permitted to her undying and immortal soul ? Believe you that a government by many official



acts could recognize the horrid murderous rites of Juggernaut for many years, without bringing down on their counsels the *withering, blighting curse of an offended God?* And so you might trace the system further and still further, called the old traditionary policy, which has produced the disaster, and thus be more and more convinced that England's strength will consist in this,—to place her hand on her mouth, and her mouth in the dust, and to cry, “Unclean, unclean!”

We should pause, in humility, ere we enter on the future of an empire in which our privileges and blessings have been neither small nor few. We can only speak, indeed, of things as probable; but among the grounds of earnest hope which England till lately had to cherish, this was certainly the most prominent—that India's distinguished hero was pre-eminently *a man of God*.

Opposed to fiends incarnate, in discipline unequalled, in numbers overwhelming, with a covered head in battle, he had proved himself undaunted in fighting for his country and his queen; and by Havelock the soldier's sword was wielded with emotion, as he drew near to

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save Lucknow's garrison,—grateful that his own loved ones were safe in his native land. Disappointed in that first attempt, God seeks in man's misfortune to make His servant's failure secure in the end more marked success. "The valiant Havelock draws nigh," was the despair-cry of the rebels; "hasten out to meet him, we'll stay and mine the Christians well and *blow them into the air.*"

Not so, the Lord's annointed more true deliverance brings. The depths of many Christian hearts had been poured forth in earnest prayer. But fleeing to the mountains would have been death to these self-defenders: a sortie was made, time was gained, and food for life was given, to last till that garrison was saved.

England, to a man, some time since exclaimed, "March on, thou daring conqueror! May the fame of thy achievements add greatness to that greatness which yielded thee high command. May each beleaguered fortress resound with cheers, be bathed in tears, as beating hearts are solaced by freedom brought through thee. May our gracious Queen, from her high throne, echo the people's voice, and

entwine the wreath thy deeds have won, in praise supreme to Him to whom thou thyself didst all the glory give." But now Havelock is no more ; he, the mighty conqueror, has been conquered : though vanquished, he has become more than an earthly victor ; and we cannot doubt that his devoted piety, through Christ's merits, has been rewarded by a crown, like that which we pray our Queen may one day wear as the award of the same unerring Judge.

The eloquent words of a dignitary (Canon Dale) of our Church, in his poem, "The Dying Chieftain," are well adapted to commemorate the fame of Havelock :—

" He sets in the noon of his fame,  
He falls in the hour of his pride ;  
But myriads lamenting shall hallow his name,  
And tell how the conqueror died.  
He died for the land of his birth ;  
He died that her sons might be free !  
And long shall his memory be hallow'd on earth,  
Most honour'd, fair England, by thee.

" Though ties might have chain'd him to life,  
The strongest affection can bind,  
He fled from them all to the scene of the strife,  
And his love to his honour resign'd.

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He paused not to wipe the big tear  
That fell from a mother's fond eye,  
He turn'd not to look on a mourner more dear;  
Unshrinking he left them—to die.

“ Yet say not the hero is dead ;  
For glory can never decay :  
From the scene of its triumphs the spirit hath fled,  
But memory enshrines it for aye.  
For he set in the noon of his fame,  
He fell in the hour of his pride ;  
And nations lamenting shall hallow his name,  
And tell how the conqueror died ! ”

But hope has begun to beam from the dark black cloud that so long overhung the East. The courage of our soldiers, the endurance of the weaker sex, and the sufferings of the innocents,—all tend to appease God's anger, and to hasten on the succouring hosts who have been sent to our countrymen's relief.

It is not well to rend again the minds which time in part has healed, and yet we almost ought to dwell on the instances of devotion called forth by those days of lamentation and of woe !

It is true one cannot mourn for the innocents who have departed ; they have been taken from a world of sin and pain ; they are now

around our Father's throne, and are added to that number whom Herod, in seeking the Saviour's life, so cruelly put to death. They now are where the angelic host proclaim aloud "Hosannah!" in praise and glory unto Him who in His unerring wisdom transferred them from below, as plants in this earthly Eden, that they might flourish early in the paradise of God.

At Delhi see an affianced bride rushing from the Palace, and offering for her father's life, as a peace-offering to the surrounding fiends, her own heart's blood, not presuming, it may have been, to think that her father's blood, shed for Christ, and in Christ's work, would prove *martyr's blood*, and the seed of the Church, in that stronghold of Satan—Delhi.

Again, a young Christian officer, while lingering between life and death, cheered on a native Christian who seemed ready to forsake the faith, with the admonition "Padre Sahib, deny not the Lord Jesus."

Hear a mother's aching anguished heart, in the wildness of her despair, plead for a cup of water to cool the tongue and the brain of her only dying child; and mark the answer

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given to her, when she asked for this cold water, and offered to give her life.

*They* killed her child, because their hearts were not in His keeping who has said that a cup of cold water shall not be given to a disciple in His name in vain.

*The Cawnpore gore—the Delhi blood—and the piercing cries of England's bleeding daughters, ascend to God, who will stay His hand—for he is a God of Love and Mercy.*

Great Britain's sons and *statesmen* have been taught an awful lesson, *officially through their premier*—Lord Palmerston,—who said, in the face of the British nation, and of Evangelical Christendom, that children were born good.

They, on the contrary, have been taught that children are born wicked, and that in times of tumult, whether in England or in India, they will spring to their feet, and become slayers of their fellow-men—or like Hazael, though they had scorned the imputation, be insulting murderers of expectant matrons, and, if in power, noble but crafty regicides, be they ever so intellectual, if they have not the fear of God instilled into their minds.

Nana Sahib was educated in the Government

College at Calcutta; he was outwardly a polished man and a gentleman, but inwardly, he was what few could find language to depict.

Words of despair,\* torn and scattered on that scene at Cawnpore, were found, when the tragedy was over, and the sentiment they expressed was saddened by the thought, that it had been the theme of festive song in happy England, when all had not been lost, and when, had help been wanted, help would have been soon at hand.

But words of prayer, of Christian prayer, were heard by the Bithoor murderers, and though we may conceive, we cannot attempt to describe, the silence of that last hour, when the minister of God, by permission of heathens, read over himself and others, whose departure was at hand, the service of the Church. "I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand in the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see

\* All is lost.—Their cry is "Help," where no help can come.

God; whom mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

England was thankful to hear, that on the scene of this awful tragedy, amid the gore, and the hair, and the long, black, raven, blood-stained tresses, there were words, which we have used, peacefully, in the House of God, and they were, "Good Lord deliver us!"

Neither can we marvel that the walls of the slaughter-house bore this inscription:—"Countrymen, avenge us."

Scarce had the illustrious house which now occupies the throne, grasped the sceptre of England, than George the First addressed the first Protestant missionaries, then just sent to India.

And in ten years' time he encouraged them again in words of pious wisdom, and the Chief Pastor of the Church followed the example of the Crown, and cheered them on in their high mission.

#### "TANJORE.

"The letters of King George the First to the missionaries in India will form a proper introduction to the account which it is now intended to give of the Christian Hindoos of Tanjore. The first Protestant mission in India was founded by Bartholomew Ziegen-



balg, a man of erudition and piety, educated at the University of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Burmannes, bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry he founded a Christian church among the Hindoos, which has been extending its limits to the present time. In 1714, he returned to Europe for a short time, and on that occasion was honoured with an audience by his Majesty George the First, who took much interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by 'the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' which was superintended by men of distinguished learning and piety. The king and the society encouraged the Oriental missionary to proceed in his translation of the Scriptures into the Tamul tongue, which they designated 'the grand work.' This was indeed *the grand work*; for wherever the Scriptures are translated into the vernacular tongue, and are open and common to all, inviting inquiry and causing discussion, they cannot remain 'a dead letter.' When the Scriptures speak to a heathen in his own tongue, his conscience responds, 'This is the word of God.' How little is the importance of a version of the Bible in a new language understood by some. The man who produces a translation of the Bible into a new language, like Wickliffe and Luther, and Ziegenbalg and Carey, is a greater benefactor to mankind than the prince who founds an empire. For the 'incorruptible seed of the word of God' can never die. After ages have resolved, it is still producing new accessions to truth and human happiness.

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“ In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the Bible in the Tamul tongue; having devoted *fourteen* years to the work. The peculiar interest taken by the king in his primary endeavour to evangelize the Hindoos, will appear from the following letters, addressed to the missionaries by his majesty.

“ ‘GEORGE, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to the Reverend and learned Bartholomew Ziegenbalgius and John Ernest Grundlerus, Missionaries at Tranquebar, in the East Indies.

“ ‘Reverend and Beloved,—Your letters, dated the 20th of January of the present year, were most welcome to us; not only because the work undertaken by you of converting the heathen to the Christian faith, doth, by the grace of God, prosper, but also because, that, in this our kingdom, such a laudable zeal for the promotion of the Gospel prevails.

“ ‘We pray you may be endued with health and strength of body, that you may long continue to fulfil your ministry with good success; of which, as we shall be rejoiced to hear, so you will always find us ready to succour you in whatever may tend to promote your work and to excite your zeal. We assure you of the continuance of our royal favour.

“ ‘GEORGE R.

“ ‘Given at our Palace of Hampton Court, the 23rd of August, A.D. 1717, in the 4th year of our reign.’

“ The king continued to cherish with much solicitude the interests of the mission after the death of Ziegenbalgus; and in ten years from the date of the foregoing letter, a second was addressed to the members of the mission by his Majesty.

“ ‘ Reverend and Beloved,—From your letters dated Tranquebar, the 12th of September, 1725, which some time since came to hand, we received much pleasure; since by them we are informed, not only of your zealous exertions in the prosecution of the work committed to you, but also of the happy success which hath hitherto attended it, and which hath been graciously given of God.

“ ‘ We return you thanks for these accounts, and it will be acceptable to us, if you continue to communicate whatever shall occur in the progress of your mission.

“ ‘ In the mean time, we pray you may enjoy strength of body and mind for the long continuance of your labours in this good work, to the glory of God, and the promotion of Christianity among the heathens; *that its perpetuity may not fail in generations to come.\**

“ ‘ GEORGE R.

“ ‘ Given at our Palace at St. James’s,  
the 23rd of February, 1727, in  
the 30th year of our reign.’

“ But these royal epistles are not the only evangelical documents of high authority in the hands of the Hindoos.

\* “ Niecampius, *Hist. Mist.*



They are in possession of letters written by the Archbishop of Canterbury of the same reign ;\* who supported the interests of the mission with unexampled liberality, affection, and zeal. These letters, which are many in number, are all written in the Latin language. The following is a translation of his Grace's first letter, which appears to have been written by him as president of the ' Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.'

" 'To Bartholomew Ziegenbalgus and John Ernest Grundlerus, preachers of the Christian faith, on the coast of Coromandel.

" 'As often as I behold your letters, Reverend Brethren, addressed to the venerable society instituted for the promotion of the Gospel, whose chief honour and ornament ye are, and as often as I contemplate the light of the Gospel, either now first rising on the Indian nations, or after the intermission of some ages again revived, and as it were restored to its inheritance ; I am constrained to magnify that singular goodness of God in visiting nations so remote, and to account you, my brethren, highly honoured, whose ministry it hath pleased Him to employ in this pious work, to the glory of His name, and the salvation of so many millions of souls.

" 'Let others indulge in a ministry, if not idle, certainly less laborious, among Christians at home. Let them enjoy in the bosom of the Church, titles and honours, obtained without labour and without danger. Your praise it will be (a praise of endless duration on

\* " Archbishop Wake.

earth, and followed by a just recompense in heaven) to have laboured in the vineyard which yourselves have planted ; to have declared the name of Christ, where it was not known before ; and through much peril and difficulty to have converted to the faith those among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province, therefore, brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the Church. Let others be pontiffs, patriarchs, or popes ; let them glitter in purple, in scarlet, or in gold ; let them seek the admiration of the wondering multitude, and receive obeisance on the bended knee. Ye have acquired a better name than they, and a more sacred fame. And when that day shall arrive when the Chief Shepherd shall give to every man *according to his work*, a greater reward shall be adjudged to you. Admitted into the glorious society of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, ye, with them, shall shine, like the sun among the lesser stars, in the kingdom of your Father for ever.

“ ‘ Since, then, so great honour is now given unto you by all competent judges on earth, and since so great reward is laid up for you in heaven ; go forth with alacrity to that work, to the which the Holy Ghost hath called you. God hath already given to you an illustrious pledge of His favour, an increase not to be expected without the aid of His grace. Ye have begun happily, proceed with spirit. He, who hath carried you safely through the dangers of the seas to such a remote country, and who hath given you favour in the eyes of those whose countenance ye most desired ; He who hath so liberally and unexpectedly ministered unto your wants, and who doth now daily add members to

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your Church; He will continue to prosper your endeavours, and will subdue unto Himself, by your means, the *whole continent of Oriental India*.

“ ‘O happy men! who, standing before the tribunal of Christ, shall exhibit so many nations converted to His faith by your preaching;—happy men! to whom it shall be given to say, before the assembly of the whole human race, ‘Behold us, O Lord, and the children whom thou hast given us!’—happy men! who being justified by the Saviour, shall receive in that day the reward of your labours, and also shall hear that glorious encomium; ‘Well done, good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord.’

“ ‘May Almighty God graciously favour you and your labours in all things. May He send to your aid fellow-labourers, such and as many as ye wish. May He increase the bounds of your churches. May He open the hearts of those to whom ye preach the Gospel of Christ, that hearing you, they may receive life-giving faith. May He protect you and yours from all evils and dangers; and when ye arrive (may it be late) at the end of your course, may the same God, who hath called you to this work of the Gospel, and hath preserved you in it, grant to you the reward of your labour, an incorruptible crown of glory.

“ ‘These are the fervent wishes and prayers of, venerable brethren,

“ ‘Your most faithful

“ ‘Fellow-servant in Christ;

“ ‘GULIELMUS CANT.

“ ‘From our Palace at Lambeth,

January 7, A.D. 1719.’

“ Providence hath been pleased to grant the prayer of the king, ‘ that the work might not fail in generations to come;’ and the prophecy of his archbishop is likely to be fulfilled, that it should extend ‘ over the whole continent of Oriental India.’ After the first missionary, Ziegenbalg, had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number, in the period of a hundred years; among whom were Schultz, Jænicke, Gericke, and Swartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces unto this time. The present state of the mission will appear by the following extracts from the Journal of the Author’s Tour through these provinces.

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“ ‘ Tranquebar, August 25, 1806.—Tranquebar was the first scene of the Protestant mission in India. There are at present three missionaries here, superintending the Hindoo congregations. Yesterday I visited the church built by Ziegenbalg. His body lies on one side of the altar, and that of his fellow missionary, Grundler, on the other. Above are the epitaphs of both, written in Latin, and engraved on plates of brass. The church was consecrated in 1718, and Ziegenbalg and his companion died in two years after. They laid the foundation for evangelizing India, and then departed, ‘ having finished the work which was given them to do.’ I saw also the dwelling-house of Ziegenbalg, in the lower apartment of which the registers of the church are still kept. In these I found the name of the first

heathen baptized by him, and recorded in his own handwriting in the year 1707. In Ziegenbalg's church, and from the pulpit where he stood, I first heard the Gospel preached to a congregation of Hindoos, in their own tongue. The missionaries told me that religion had suffered much in Tranquebar of late years, from European infidelity. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion, and therefore hostile to the conversion of the Hindoos. 'Religion,' said they, 'flourishes more among the natives of Tanjore, and in other provinces where there are few Europeans, than here or at Madras; for we find that European example in the large towns is the bane of Christian instruction.' One instance of hostility to the mission they mentioned, as having occurred only a few weeks before my arrival. On the 9th of July, 1756, the native Christians at Tranquebar celebrated a *jubilee*, in commemoration of the fiftieth year since the Christian ministers brought the Bible from Europe. The present year, 1806, being the second fiftieth, preparations were made at Tranquebar for the second jubilee, on the 9th of last month; but the French principles preponderating, the Government would not give it any public support; in consequence of which the jubilee was not observed with that solemnity which was intended. But in other places, where there were few Europeans, it was celebrated by the native Christians with enthusiasm and every demonstration of joy. When I expressed my astonishment at this hostility, the aged missionary, Dr. John, said, 'I have always remarked that the disciples of Voltaire are the true enemies of



missions, and that the enemies of missions are, in general, the disciples of Voltaire.' ”

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“ ‘Tanjore, August 30, 1806.—On my entering this province, I stopped an hour at a village near the road; and there I first heard the name of Swartz pronounced by a Hindoo. When I arrived at the capital, I waited on Major Blackburne, the British Resident at the court of Tanjore, who informed me that the rajah had appointed the next day at twelve o'clock to receive my visit. On the same day I went to a place called Swartz's Garden. It is close to the Christian village, where the Rev. Mr. Kolhoff resides. Mr. Kolhoff is the worthy successor of Mr. Swartz; and with him I found the Rev. Dr. John and Mr. Horst, two other missionaries, who were on a visit to Mr. Kolhoff.

“ ‘Next day I visited the Rajah of Tanjore, in company with Major Blackburne. When the first ceremonial was over, the rajah conducted us to the grand saloon, which was adorned by the portraits of his ancestors; and immediately led me up to the portrait of Mr. Swartz. He then discoursed for a considerable time concerning ‘that good man,’ whom he ever revered as ‘his father and guardian.’ The rajah speaks and writes English very intelligibly. I smiled to see Swartz's picture among these Hindoo kings, and thought with myself that there are many who would think such a combination scarcely possible. I then addressed the rajah, and thanked him, in the name of the Church of England, for his kindness to the late Mr. Swartz, and

to his successors, and particularly for his recent acts of benevolence to the Christians residing within his provinces. The missionaries had just informed me that the rajah had erected 'a college for Hindoos, Mahometans, and Christians;' in which provision was made for the instruction of 'fifty Christian children.' His highness is very desirous that I should visit this college, which is only about sixteen miles from the capital. Having heard of the fame of the ancient Shanscrit and Mahratta library of the kings of Tanjore, I requested his highness would present a catalogue of its volumes to the College of Fort William; which he was pleased to do. It is voluminous, and written in the Mahratta character, for that is the proper language of the Tanjore court.

" 'In the evening I dined with the Resident, and the rajah sent his band of music, consisting of eight or more *vinas*, with other instruments. The *vina* or *been* is the ancient instrument which Sir William Jones has described in his interesting descant on the musical science of the Hindoos, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' and the sight of which, he says, he found it so difficult to obtain in northern India. The band played the English air of 'God save the King,' set to Mahratta words, and applied to the Maharajah, or 'Great King of Tanjore.' Two of the missionaries dined at the Resident's house, together with some English officers. Mr. Kolhoff informed me that Major Blackburne has promoted the interests of the missions by every means in his power. Major Blackburne is a man of superior attainments, amiable manners, and a hospitable disposition; and is

well qualified for the important station he has long held, as English Resident at this court.

“On the day following, I went to view the Hindoo temples, and saw the great Black Bull of Tanjore. It is said to be of one stone, hewn out of a rock of granite; and so large that the temple was built round it. While I surveyed it, I reflected on the multitudes of natives who, during the last hundred years, had turned away their eyes from this idol. When I returned, I sat some hours with the missionaries, conversing on the general state of Christianity in the provinces of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Palamcottah. They want help; their vineyard is increased, and their labourers are decreased; they have had no supply from Germany in the room of Swartz, Jænicke, and Gericke; and they have no prospect of further supply, except from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who they hope will be able to send out English preachers to perpetuate the mission.’”

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“‘Tanjore, Sept. 2, 1806.—Last Sunday and Monday were interesting days to me, at Tanjore. It being rumoured that a friend of the late Mr. Swartz had arrived, the people assembled from all quarters. On Sunday three sermons were preached in three different languages. At eight o'clock we proceeded to the church built by Mr. Swartz within the fort. From Mr. Swartz's pulpit I preached in English from Mark xiii. 10: ‘And the Gospel must first be published among all nations.’ The English gentlemen here

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attended, civil and military, with the missionaries, catechists, and British soldiers. After this service was ended, the congregation of Hindoos assembled in the same church, and filled the aisles and porches. The Tamul service commenced with some forms of prayer, in which all the congregation joined with loud fervour. A chapter of the Bible was then read, and a hymn of Luther's sung. After a short extempore prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt on the floor, the Rev. Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamul tongue, from these words: 'Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink.' As Mr. Whitfield, on his first going to Scotland, was surprised at the rustling of the leaves of the Bible, which took place immediately on his pronouncing his text (so different from anything he had seen in his own country), so I was surprised here at the sound of the iron pen engraving the palmyra-leaf. Many persons had their *ollas* in their hands, writing the sermon in Tamul short-hand. Mr. Kolhoff assured me that some of the elder students and catechists will not lose a word of the preacher if he speak deliberately.\* This, thought I, is more than some of the students at our English universities can do. This aptitude of the people to record the words of the preacher renders it peculiarly necessary that the priest's lips should keep knowledge. An old rule of the mission is, that the

\* "It is well known that natives of Tanjore and Travancore can write fluently what is spoken deliberately. They do not look much at their *ollas* while writing; the fibre of the leaf guides the pen.

sermon of the morning should be read to the schools in the evening, by the catechist, from his palmyra-leaf.

“ ‘ Another custom obtains among them which pleased me much. In the midst of the discourse, the preacher sometimes put a question to the congregation, who answered it without hesitation, in one voice. The object is to keep their attention awake, and the minister generally prompts the answer himself. Thus, suppose that he is saying, ‘ My dear brethren, it is true that your profession of the faith of Christ is attended with some reproach, and that you have lost your caste with the Brahmins ; but your case is not peculiar. The man of the world is the man of caste in Europe ; and he despises the humble and devout disciple of Christ, even as your Brahmin contemns the *Sooder*. But, thus it hath been from the beginning. Every faithful Christian must lose caste for the Gospel ; even as Christ himself, the forerunner, made himself of no reputation, and was despised and rejected of men. In like manner, you will be despised ; but be of good cheer, and say, Though we have lost our caste and inheritance amongst men, we shall receive in heaven a new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ He then adds, ‘ What, my beloved brethren, shall you obtain in heaven ?’ They answer, ‘ A new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ It is impossible for a stranger not to be affected with this scene. This custom is deduced from Ziegenbalg, who proved its use by long experience.

“ ‘ After the sermon was ended, I returned with the missionaries into the vestry or library of the church.

Here I was introduced to the elders and catechists of the congregation. Among others came *Sattianaden*, the Hindoo preacher, one of whose sermons was published in England some years ago by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He is now advanced in years, and his black locks have grown grey. As I returned from the church, I saw the Christian families going back in crowds to the country, and the boys looking at their *ollas*. What a contrast, thought I, is this to the scene at Juggernaut! Here there is becoming dress, humane affections, and rational discourse. I see here no skulls, no self-torture, no self-murder, no dogs and vultures tearing human flesh! Here the Christian virtues are found in exercise by the feeble-minded Hindoo, in a vigour and purity which will surprise those who have never known the native character but under the greatest disadvantages, as in Bengal. It certainly surprised myself; and when I reflected on the moral conduct, upright dealing, decent dress, and decorous manners of the native Christians of Tanjore, I found in my breast a new evidence of the peculiar excellence and benign influence of the Christian faith.

“At four o'clock in the afternoon, we attended divine service at the chapel in the Mission-garden out of the fort. The Rev. Mr. Horst preached, in the Portuguese language. The organ here accompanied the voice in singing. I sat on a granite stone which covered the grave of Swartz. The epitaph is in English verse, written by the present rajah, and signed by him, ‘Serfogee.’ In the evening Mr. Kolhoff presided at

the exercise in the schools, on which occasion the Tamul sermon was repeated and the boys' *ollas* examined.

“‘In consequence of my having expressed a wish to hear Sattianaden preach, Mr. Kolhoff had given notice that there would be divine service next day, Monday. Accordingly the chapel in Swartz's Garden was crowded at an early hour. Sattianaden delivered his discourse in the Tamul language, with much natural eloquence, and with visible effect. His subject was the ‘Marvelous Light.’ He first described the pagan darkness, then the light of Ziegenbalg, then the light of Swartz, and then the heavenly light, ‘when there shall be no more need of the light of the sun, or of the moon.’ In quoting a passage from Scripture, he desired a lower minister to read it, listening to it as to a record, and then proceeded to the illustration. The responses by the audience were more frequently called for than in the former sermon. He concluded with praying fervently for the glory and prosperity of the Church of England. After the sermon, I went up to Sattianaden, and the old Christians who had known Swartz came around us. They were anxious to hear something of the progress of Christianity in the North of India. They said they had heard good news from Bengal. I told them that the news were good; but that Bengal was exactly a hundred years behind Tanjore.

“‘I have had long conversations with the missionaries, relating to the present circumstances of the Tanjore mission. It is in a languishing state at this moment, in consequence of the war on the continent

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of Europe. Two of its sources have dried up,—the Royal College at Copenhagen and the Orphan House at Halle, in Germany. Their remaining resource from Europe is the stipend of ‘the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,’ whom they never mention but with emotions of gratitude and affection. But this supply is by no means commensurate with the increasing number of their churches and schools. The chief support of the mission is derived from itself. Mr. Swartz had in his lifetime acquired a considerable property, through the kindness of the English government and of the native princes. When he was dying, he said, ‘Let the cause of Christ be my heir.’ When his colleague, the pious Gericke, was departing, he also bequeathed his property to the Mission. And now Mr. Kolhoff gives from his private funds an annual sum : not that he can well afford it ; but the Mission is so extended, that he gives it, he told me, to preserve the new and remote congregations in *existence*. He stated that there were upwards of ten thousand Protestant Christians belonging to the Tanjore and Tinnavelly districts alone, who had not among them one complete copy of the Bible ; and that not one Christian perhaps in a hundred had a New Testament ; and yet there are some copies of the Tamul Scriptures still to be sold at Tranquebar : but the poor natives cannot afford to purchase them. When I mentioned the designs of the Bible Society in England, they received the tidings with very sensible emotions of thankfulness. Mr. Horst said, if only every tenth person were to obtain a copy of the Scriptures, it would be an event long to be remembered in Tanjore. They



lamented much that they were destitute of the aid of a printing-press, and represented to me that the progress of Christianity had been materially retarded of late years by the want of that important auxiliary. They have petitioned the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to send them one. They justly observed, 'If you can no longer send us missionaries to preach the Gospel, send us the means of printing the Gospel.\*' The Tranquebar Mission and the Madras Mission have both possessed printing-presses for a long period; by the means of which they have been extensively useful in distributing the Scriptures and religious publications in several languages. The Mission press at Tranquebar may be said to have been the fountain of all the good that was done in India during the last century. It was established by Ziegenbalg. From this press, in conjunction with that at Halle, in Germany, have proceeded volumes in Arabic, Syriac, Hindostanee, Tamul, Telinga, Portuguese, Danish, and English. I have in my possession the Psalms of David in the Hindostanee language, printed in the Arabic character; and the History of Christ in Syriac, intended probably for the Syro-Romish Christians on the seacoast of Travancore, whom a Danish missionary once visited; both of which

\* "The Brahmins in Tanjore have procured a press, 'which they dedicate (say the missionaries, in their last letter) to the glory of their gods;' but their missionaries, who first introduced the civilization of Christianity at the Tanjore capital, are still without one. Printing is certainly the legitimate instrument of the Christian for the promulgation of Christianity. We Protestants have put it into the hands of the Brahmins, and we ought to see to it that the teachers of our own religion are possessed of an equal advantage."

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volumes were edited by the missionaries of Tranquebar. There is also in Swartz's library at Tanjore a grammar of the Hindostanee language in quarto, published at the same press; an important fact, which was not known at the College of Fort William when Professor Gilchrist commenced his useful labours in that language.'"

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" 'Tanjore, Sept. 3, 1806.—Before I left the capital of Tanjore, the Rajah was pleased to honour me with a second audience. On this occasion he presented to me a portrait of himself, a very striking likeness, painted by a Hindoo artist at the Tanjore court.\* The missionary, Dr. John, accompanied me to the palace. The Rajah received him with much kindness, and presented to him a piece of gold cloth. Of the resident missionary, Mr. Kolhoff, whom the Rajah sees frequently, he spoke to me in terms of high approbation. This cannot be very agreeable to the Brahmins; but the Rajah, though he yet professes the Brahminical religion, is no longer obedient to the dictate of the Brahmins, and they are compelled to admit his superior attainments in knowledge.—I passed the chief part of this morning in looking over Mr. Swartz's manuscripts and books: and when I was coming away, Mr. Kolhoff presented to me a Hebrew Psalter, which had been Mr. Swartz's companion for fifty years; also a brass lamp which he had got first when a student at the College of Halle, and

\* "It is now placed in the public library of the University of Cambridge.

had used in his lucubrations to the time of his death; for Mr. Swartz seldom preached to the natives without previous study. I thought I saw the image of Swartz in his successor. Mr. Kolhoff is a man of great simplicity of manners, of meek deportment, and of ardent zeal in the cause of revealed religion, and of humanity. He walked with me through the Christian village close to his house; and I was much pleased to see the affectionate respect of the people towards him; the young people of both sexes coming forward from the doors on both sides, to salute him and receive his benediction.' ”\*

\* “That I may give to those who are interested in the promotion of Christianity in the East a more just view of the character of Swartz's successor, the Rev. Mr. Kolhoff, I shall subjoin an extract of a letter which I have since received from the Rev. Mr. Horst :—

“*Tanjore, Sept. 24th, 1807.*

“The Rev. Mr. Kolhoff is sometimes rather weak, on account of so many and various cares that assail him without ceasing. He provides for the wants of this and the Southern missions (Tritchinopoly excepted), by disbursing annually upwards of one thousand pagodas (about £250 sterling) out of his private purse, partly to make up the difference between the income and expenditure of this and the Southern mission (of which I annex an abstract), and the rest in assisting the deserving poor, *without regard to religion*, and for various pious uses. To him, as arbitrator and father, apply all Christians that are at variance, disturbed from without or from within, out of service or distressed; for most of our Christians will do anything *rather than go to law*.

“All these heterogeneous, but, to a missionary at Tanjore, unavoidable avocations, joined to the ordinary duties of his station, exercise his mind early and late; and, if he be not of a robust constitution, will undermine his health at last. Happily, several neighbouring churches and new congregations, belonging to the mission of Tanjore, afford Mr. Kolhoff frequent opportunities to relax his mind, and to recruit his health and spirits, by making occasional short excursions to see these new Christians, *who were professed thieves only a few years ago, and many*

“ ‘Sept. 4, 1806.—Leaving Tanjore, I passed through the woods inhabited by the collaries (or thieves) now humanized by Christianity. When they understood who I was, they followed me on the road, stating their destitute condition in regard to religious instruction. They were clamorous for Bibles. They supplicated for teachers. ‘We don’t want bread or money from you,’ said they; ‘but we want the Word of God.’ Now, thought I, whose duty is it to attend to the moral wants of this people? Is it that of the English nation, or of some other nation?’ ”

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“ ‘Tritchinopoly, Sept. 5.—The first church built by Swartz is at this place. It is called Christ’s Church, and is a large building, capable of containing perhaps two thousand people. The aged missionary, the Rev. Mr. Pohlè, presides over this church, and over the native congregations at this place. Christianity flourishes; but I found that here, as at other places, there is a ‘famine of Bibles.’ The jubilee was celebrated on the 19th of July, being the hundredth year from the arrival of the messengers of the Gospel. On this occasion their venerable pastor preached from Matt. xxviii. 19: ‘Go ye, therefore, and teach all

*of them are now an honour to the Christian profession, and industrious peasants.* It is pleasing to behold the anxiety with which a great number of our Christian children inquire at such times when their *father* will return, and how they run several miles to meet him, with shouts and clapping of hands and hymns of thanks to God, as soon as they discern his palankeen at a distance.’ ”

nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' At this station there are about a thousand English troops. Mr. Pohlè being a German, does not speak English very well; but he is revered for his piety by the English; and both officers and men are glad to hear the religion of their country preached in any way. On the Sunday morning, I preached in Christ's Church to a full assembly from these words: 'For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.' Indeed, what I had seen in these provinces rendered this text the most appropriate I could select. Next day, some of the English soldiers came to me, desiring to know how they might procure Bibles. 'It is a delightful thing,' said one of them, 'to hear our own religion preached by our own countryman.' *I am informed that there are at this time above twenty English regiments in India, and that not one of them has a chaplain. The men live without religion, and when they die, they bury each other! O England, England! it is not for thine own goodness that Providence giveth thee the treasures of India!*

"I proceed hence to visit the Christian churches in the provinces of Madura and Tinnavelly.'

"The friends of Christianity in India have had it in their power to afford some aid to the Christian churches in Tanjore. On the 1st of January, 1810, the Rev. Mr. Brown preached a sermon at Calcutta, in which he represented the petition of the Hindoos for Bibles. A plain statement of the fact was sufficient to open the

hearts of the public. A subscription was immediately set on foot, and Lieut.-General Hewitt, Commander-in-Chief, then Deputy-Governor in Bengal, subscribed £250. The chief officers of government, and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, raised the subscription in a few days to the sum of £1,000 sterling. Instructions were sent to Mr. Kolhoff to buy up all the copies of the Tamul Scriptures, to distribute them at a small price amongst the natives, and order a new edition to be printed off without loss of time."\*

To Victoria the First, who reigns in all hearts, the high mission has been given to promote the health, wealth, peace, and godliness of millions of subjects in India.

For subject to her, and to her alone, if God so will it, they must be, the Church † must rouse herself and proclaim peace from Him who has risen with healing in His wings.

\* "The chief names in this subscription, besides that of General Hewitt, were Sir John Royds, Sir W. Burroughs, John Lumsden, Esq., George Udney, Esq., J. H. Harrington, Esq., Sir John D'Oyley, Colonel Carey, John Thornhill, Esq., R. C. Plowden, Esq., Thomas Hayes, Esq., W. Egerton, Esq., &c. &c.

"Thus while we are disputing in England whether the Bible ought to be given to the Hindoos, the Deputy-Governor in Bengal, the members of the Supreme Council, and of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and the chief officers of the Government, after perusing the information concerning the state of India sent from this country, are satisfied that it is an important duty, and a Christian obligation."

† See "Addenda."

Had we acted thus before, I verily believe that what is past would never have been. The past is past; for the future, let us pray that those who have been given to Christ, as His inheritance, will be taught and claimed by the Spirit as His.

Had the words of one, whom the Monarch on the throne regarded, more as a father than as a subject, been the guide of public policy towards the East, God would have been honoured through His Son. In Indian affairs, no advice deserved more weighty consideration than did his. He would have held *securely* by the influence of the Cross, what he had gained, but *insecurely*, by the sword, for the Crown.

On hearing a young officer in India ridiculing God's word, the Duke asked him if he had ever read the book he was reviling, and being answered in the negative, the Duke sent him a Bible, and the young officer became a Christian.

And it is related, that on being asked one day by a minister of Christ, "Does your Grace believe that any good can be done by preaching the Gospel to the natives of India?" His Grace gave this well-merited rebuke—reiterated this

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well-known order, and gave this pious reply :—  
“ Sir ; look to your marching orders : ‘ Preach the Gospel to every creature.’ ” Let us follow his advice ; it comes now from the grave, and it embodies the command of our Saviour.

*Whether England is to rise or fall*, turns, I believe, on India's treatment by her as a Christian nation.

If we do not discharge our duty, God will raise up some other nation, having not only the power but the will, in the day when He visits in His mercy, the cruel, dark places of the earth.

*The heathen will become the inheritance of Christ, for He died that they might be His, as surely, as that we, when He died, were, even as they are, because they have been left by ourselves in that heathen state, to our own punishment and their condemnation.*

Their swords will be beaten into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, whether we hasten such a consummation or not. God will not long be wanting in instruments.

Let England know her duty and follow it, lest sharper swords, with keener edge, in



foreign hands, invade this land, and leave it in desolation, as others have been left, in which mighty deeds by Christ had been done, and where spiritual duties by His followers had been neglected.

God grant that Britain now may know the day of her visitation, and prize the things which belong to her peace! May she rejoice in the day of India's regeneration! May her Queen and people be honoured in honouring the Father, Son, and Spirit, who have proclaimed and who will fulfil this decree:—

“The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea!”

## ADDENDA.

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### “EDUCATION (INDIA).”

“A RETURN ‘of the number of scholars in the several schools and other establishments for education, maintained at the public expense, in the several presidencies of British India, specifying the locality of such schools and other establishments for education, the number of Christian, Mussulman, and Hindoo scholars in the same respectively, and the instruction afforded in each, specifying whether the Christian Scriptures are, or are not, used in such schools and other establishments for education (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 20, of Session 1847).’

“East-India House,  
May 14, 1852.

“JAMES C. MELVILL.

“(*Sir Robert Harry Inglis.*)

“Ordered, by the House of Commons to be printed,  
May 17, 1852.

### “GRAND TOTAL.

	Total number of students.
North-Western Provinces, Season 1849-50 ... ..	1,706
Lower ... .. to 30th September, 1850	8,572
Fort St. George ... .. Season 1849-50 ... ..	173
Bombay ... .. 1850 ... ..	12,712
	* 23,163

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\* Total number of unbaptized students in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

“N.B.—The Memorandum on the Course of Instruction at the Educational Establishments maintained at the public expense in the several presidencies of British India, which formed part of the Return to the Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated October 5, 1846, is applicable at the present time.

“BIBLE CLASSES.

“Extract from Court’s Public Despatch to the Government of Fort St. George, dated March 23rd (No. 13) 1847, paragraphs 4 and 5.

“‘4. The Council of Education propose that the Bible be included in the studies of the English classes, attendance on the Bible-class being left optional. You have suggested, in qualification of this proposal, that there shall be two separate English classes, from one of which the Bible shall be excluded, and that it shall be left optional to the students to attend either class. You have thought it right, however, before sanctioning either of them, to solicit our instructions as to the desirableness of the measure, not only in regard to the provincial institutions, but as to its application to the university.

“‘5. The principal schools and the Madras University are intended for the especial instruction of Hindoos and Mahomedans in the English language, and the science of Europe; we cannot consider it either ex-

in 1850, 5,220, in *Calcutta and Madras alone*. The editor has no doubt that the number of students in the Mission Schools of the other Missionary Societies will be found equal to those in the schools from which the Bible is excluded.

pedient or prudent to introduce any branch of study which can in any way interfere with the religious feelings and opinions of the people. All such tendency has been carefully avoided at both the other presidencies, where native education has been successfully prosecuted. We direct you, therefore, to refrain from any departure from the practice hitherto pursued.

“ ‘ East-India House,

May 14, 1852.

“ ‘ T. L. PEACOCK,

“ ‘ Examiner of India Correspondence.’ ”

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In calling attention to Dr. Buchanan's "Memoir," the editor, in conclusion, would record the fact, that the Honourable the East-India Company have framed and supported an Ecclesiastical Establishment; and hence, in Calcutta, we have a bishop and archdeacon, and about eighty chaplains and assistant chaplains; in Madras, a bishop and archdeacon, and about forty chaplains; in Bombay, a bishop and archdeacon, and thirty chaplains. But as many of these are absent from time to time on furlough and sick leave, and since their number was not sufficient when the European forces in Hindostan were comparatively few,

it follows that the means of supplying the spiritual wants of our officers and men are miserably deficient. And although the President of the Board of Control will be, no doubt, fully engaged in the work of *saving the body of the empire*, there is no reason why *the souls of those, who have volunteered to give their lives to save the body of that empire*, should be neglected or lost.

Let the members of our Church look to this, and especially those who have husbands, brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters in India, or the latter may die unwarned in years to come.

As much discussion, productive of mutual misapprehension, has taken place on the question of the encouragement of Christianity among the natives by the Government in India, the editor would add but a few words, specially addressed to the Christians of England as the watchmen of India. Ask no more of Government than this—that they will take off the ban from God's Holy Word, and allow it to be read in their colleges and schools, when the natives themselves desire to read it.

*Rouse yourselves to duty*, assist by voluntary contributions the efforts which are being made by the officers, both civil and military, to supplement the spiritual provision made by the Government for their European Christian subjects; help to rebuild the churches that have been destroyed, and the mission school-houses that have been pulled down; fill the coffers of the societies which send forth labourers into the harvest, and so forestall any neglect which you may anticipate on the part of the Government of England or of India, and you will do your best to avert God's anger from our nation, and so prevent another storm.

Does the Government of our gracious Queen desire a legitimate state opportunity of giving an impetus to Christianity in India? Let them look to the "first-fruits unto God" from that centre of safety and aid, the Punjab; let them welcome the prince, who by nature promised to be the young lion there, but who, by the Gospel, has been converted into one of Christ's flock, and taking Dhuleep Sing as a representative of the Indo-British lion, admit him to the

councils of the new Indian Government or to a seat in the House of Peers.

“ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT FOR  
BRITISH INDIA.

“Before the author left India, he published a ‘Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for our Empire in the East.’ The design of that work was first suggested to him by Dr. Porteus, late bishop of London, who had attentively surveyed the state of our dominions in Asia; and he was encouraged by subsequent communications with the Marquis Wellesley to endeavour to lead the attention of the nation to the subject. That publication has now been five years before the public, and many volumes have been written on the various subjects which it contains; but he does not know that any objection has been made to the principle of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for Christians in India. An attempt has been made, indeed, to divert the attention from the true object; and, instead of considering it as an establishment for Christians, to set it forth as an establishment for instructing the Hindoos. But the instruction of the Hindoos is entirely a distinct consideration, as was carefully noted in the Memoir. At the end of the first part is the following paragraph:—

“‘It will be remembered, that nothing which has been observed is intended to imply that any peculiar provision should be made immediately for the instruction of the natives. Any expensive establishment of this kind, however becoming our national character,

or obligatory on our principles, cannot possibly be organized to efficient purpose, without the aid of a *local Church*. Let us first establish our own religion amongst *ourselves*, and our Asiatic subjects will soon benefit by it. When once our national Church shall have been confirmed in India, the members of that Church will be the best qualified to advise the State as to the means by which, from time to time, the civilization of the natives may be promoted.\*

“An Ecclesiastical Establishment would yet be necessary for British India, *if there were not a Mahomedan or Hindoo in the land*. For, besides the thousands of British Christians, who live and die in that country, there are hundreds of thousands of native Christians, who are at this moment ‘as sheep without a shepherd;’ and who are not insensible to their destitute estate, but supplicate our countenance and protection. Surely the measure cannot be contemplated by the legislature for a moment without perceiving its absolute propriety, on the common principles of justice and humanity.

“In regard to the other subject—the instruction of the Hindoos,—many different opinions have been delivered in the volumes alluded to, the most prominent of which are the two following:—First, that Hinduism is, upon the whole, as good as Christianity; and that, therefore, conversion to Christianity is not necessary. This deserves no reply. The second opinion is, that it is indeed a sacred duty to convert the Hindoos, but

\* “*Memoir*, p. 20.



that we must not do it by force. With this opinion the author perfectly coincides. To convert men by any other means than those of persuasion, is a practice fit only for the Inquisition, and completely at variance with the tenor of every page which he has written. The means of conversion which he has recommended, are those which are appointed in the Holy Scriptures, namely, 'preaching, and the Word of God.' The first and present means are the translation of the Word of God into the various languages; and the next are the labours of teachers and preachers.

"The author is not, nor has he ever been, the advocate for force and personal injury toward the Hindoos. No: he pleads the cause of humanity. The object of his work, and of his researches, has been to deliver the people of Hindostan from painful and sanguinary rites; to rescue the devoted victim from the wheels of Moloch's tower; to snatch the tender infant from the jaws of the alligator, and from the murderous hands of the more unnatural mother; to save the agent parent from premature death in the Ganges by the unnatural son; to extinguish the flames of the female sacrifice, and to 'cause the widow's heart to sing for joy.'

"Another object of his work has been, to show, that while the feelings of the Christian are painfully affected by the exhibition of these sufferings and atrocities, infidelity, on the other hand, can behold them, and *does* behold them, with all the coldness and apathy of Voltaire. And this is the great practical triumph of Christianity over philosophical unbelief. While by the former, the best feelings of our nature are meliorated,

and improved, and softened, and extended, they become, by the influence of the latter, sullen, and cold, and torpid, and dead.

“The remaining opinion on this subject, which is worthy of notice, is the following: ‘The conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity is indeed a solemn obligation, if practicable; but the attempt may possibly displease the Hindoos and endanger our empire.’ This fear is grounded solely on an ignorance of facts, and on the remoteness of the scene. Christianity began to be preached to Hindoos by Europeans 300 years ago, and whole provinces are now covered with Christians. In the present endeavours of Protestant missionaries, the chief difficulty which they generally experience is to awaken the mind of the torpid Hindoos to the subject. They know that every man may choose the religion he likes best, and profess it with impunity; and that he may lose his caste and buy a caste again, as he buys an article of merchandise. There are a hundred castes of religion in Hindostan, and there is no common interest about a particular religion. When one native meets another on the road, he seldom expects to find that he is of the same caste with himself. They are a divided people. Hindostan is like the great world in miniature; when you pass a great river, or lofty mountain, you generally find a new variety. Some persons in Europe think it must be a novelty to the Hindoos to see a missionary. There have been for ages past numerous castes of missionaries in Hindostan—Pagan, Mahomedan, and Christian,—all seeking to proselyte individuals to a new religion, or to some new sect of an old one.

The difficulty, as was before observed, in regard to the Protestant teachers, is to awaken attention to *their* doctrine.\*

“ The general indifference of the natives to these attempts, whether successful or not, has been demonstrated by recent events. After the adversaries of Christian missions had circulated their pamphlets through British India (with the best intention no doubt, according to their judgment), announcing the intelligence that some of the English wanted to convert the inhabitants by force, and to blow Hindostan into a flame, the natives seem to have considered the information as absurd or unintelligible, and to have treated it with contempt; for immediately afterwards, when, by the defection of the British troops, the foundations of our empire were shaken to their centre, both Mahomedans and Hindoos (who, if they wished to rebel, needed only to sound that trumpet which was first sounded by a senior merchant in Leadenhall-street, no doubt with the best intentions) evinced their accustomed loyalty, and crowded round the

\* “ In fact, there is scarcely one point in their mythological religion that the whole race of Hindoos have faith in. There are sectaries and schismatics without end, who will believe only certain points that others abjure: individuals of those sects dissent from the doctrines believed by the majority; other philosophical sceptics will scarcely believe anything, in opposition to their easy-faithed brethren, who disbelieve nothing. Hence may, in part, be discerned the liability under which inquirers labour, of being misled by sectaries into receiving schism as orthodoxy, and of forming general conclusions from individual or partial information; but, in fact, there is *no general orthodoxy among Hindoos*.—See the ‘Hindoo Pantheon,’ p. 180, by Edward Moor, Esq., F.R.S., published in 1810.

standard of the Supreme Government in the hour of danger.\*

"There is one argument for the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment, which the author did not insist on strongly in the Memoir, from motives of delicacy; but recent events have rendered the same reserve no longer necessary. He will proceed, therefore, to disclose a fact which will serve to place the motives for recommending such an establishment in their just light. It is not the giving the Christian religion to the natives which will endanger our empire, but the *want of religion among our own countrymen*. After the disturbance among the British officers in Bengal, in 1794, which for a time had a most alarming aspect, being of the same character with that which took place lately at Madras, a memorial was presented to the Marquis Wellesley, on his accession to the government, by persons who had been long in the service of the Company, and who were well acquainted

\* "A worthy clergyman, belonging to the Presidency of Fort St. George, who witnessed the troops marching against each other, and knew not for a time what would be the fate of the empire, after the danger was over, makes the following most just and striking reflection, in a letter to a friend: 'It cannot but have occurred to every reflecting mind, in looking back on past scenes, if it had pleased God in his providence to have dispossessed us of our dominions, how little would have remained to show that a people blessed with the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ had once borne sway in this land! But now,' he adds exultingly, in allusion to the translation of the Scriptures, 'the Word of God in the languages of all India will be an enduring monument of British piety and liberality, for which the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving will ascend to the Most High, to the latest generations.'

with the circumstances of the empire at large, representing the necessity of a 'suitable religious establishment for British India,' and illustrating that necessity by the events which had recently taken place in the army. That memorial referred to the almost total extinction of Christian worship at the military stations, where the seventh day was only distinguished by the British flag; and noticed the fatal consequences that might be expected from large bodies of men, far remote from the controlling power of the parent state, enjoying luxury and independence, and seeing nothing, from youth to age, of the religion of their country. It showed, further, that, of the whole number of English who go to India, not a tenth part return; and assigned this fact as a reason why their religion should follow them to the East, that it might be, in the first place, a solace to themselves in the dreary prospect of dying in that land (for of a thousand soldiers in sickly India, there will be generally a hundred in declining health); and, secondly, 'that it might be some security for their loyalty to their king, and their attachment to the principles of their country.'

"It required not a memorial to apprise Marquis Wellesley of the truth of these facts, or of the justness of the reasoning upon them. The necessity of a meliorated state of existence for the English armies was made evident to him by his own observation; and it cannot be doubted that, had that nobleman remained in India to complete the plans which he meditated for the advantage of that country, and had his coadjutor, Mr. Pitt, lived, a suitable religious establishment would

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have been, by this time, proposed to the East-India Company, for every part of their dominions in Hindostan. But Marquis Wellesley had another and a more imperious service first to perform, and that was, to *save the body of the empire itself*. British Hindostan was, at that moment, surrounded by strong and formidable enemies, who were putting themselves 'in the attitude of the tiger,' as a vakeel of Tippoo expressed it, 'to leap upon the prey.' And this service that great statesman achieved, under Divine Providence, first, by destroying the Mysorean empire, under Tippoo Sultan, and thereby extinguishing the Mahomedan power in Hindostan; secondly, by overwhelming the hitherto invincible Mahrattas; and, lastly, by forming on the frontier a league of strength, which, like a wall of iron, has saved the country from native invasion ever since, notwithstanding its subsequent critical and exposed state, in consequence of frequent changes of the Supreme Government, and of dissensions in our army. The services which that nobleman performed for our empire in the East were very ill understood at the time; his views were so comprehensive, that few men could embrace them. They are more generally acknowledged now; but it is to be apprehended that some years must yet elapse before all the beneficial consequences of his administration will be fully made known to his country.

"It has been a subject of wonder to many in England, that our army should at any time betray symptoms of disaffection in India, when no instance of it occurs elsewhere; but the surprise will cease

when the circumstances before mentioned shall have been duly weighed. Of the individuals engaged in the late disturbances at Madras, there were perhaps some who had not witnessed the service of Christian worship for twenty years, whose minds were impressed by the daily view of the rites of the Hindoo religion, and had lost almost all memory of their own. It is morally impossible to live long in such circumstances, without being in some degree affected by them. That loyalty is but little to be depended on, whether abroad or at home, which has lost the basis of religion.

“The true spring of the irregular proceeding, contemptuous remonstrance, and ultimate disaffection of the military in India, is this: large bodies of troops at a great distance from Britain, which they never expect to see again, begin, after a long absence, to feel more sensibly their own independence, while their affection for their native country gradually diminishes. And if, under such circumstances, they have not the restraints of religion (for what is obedience ‘to the powers that be’ but the restraint of religion?) and if they have not the frequent view of Christian worship to recall their minds, by association of ideas, to the sacred ordinances and principles of their country, it is impossible to foresee to what degrees of rebellion or infatuation they may proceed. It is unjust to ascribe these proceedings to the casual acts of the Governor for the time being. Indiscreet measures on his part may form the pretext; but the true cause lies much deeper. The Company’s officers in India are as honourable a body of military men as are to be found in the world; the author knows

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them; but they are in peculiar circumstances; and if any other description of troops were in their stead, passing a whole life in such an unchristianizing service, the same causes would still produce the same effects.

“The most alarming consideration, while things remain in their present state, is this, that in proportion as our empire increases and our force in India grows stronger, the danger arising from the foregoing causes becomes the greater. These are obvious truths, on which it is not necessary to dilate. But there is another subject allied to this, which the author thinks it a solemn duty to bring before the public.

“Not only are our troops denied suitable religious instruction when they arrive in India, but they are destitute of it during their long voyage to that country. The voyage is, on an average, six months. Now, provision ought certainly to be made for Divine worship, and for spiritual consolation to the soldiers, during that period; for it is sometimes a period of great sickness, and of frequent death. Indeed, there ought to be a chaplain on board of every India ship containing one hundred souls.\*

\* “The East-India Company require the commander or purser of every ship to read prayers on Sunday, when the weather permits. The service is performed, in many cases, in a serious and truly impressive manner; and the acknowledged good effects in such cases convey the strongest recommendation of the measure which has been proposed. One important duty of the chaplain of an Indiaman might be to superintend the studies of the young writers and cadets proceeding to India, who, for want of some direction of this kind, generally pass the long voyage in idleness, lounging on the quarter-deck, or gambling in the cuddy. So important has this subject been considered, that, during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, a detailed plan



“They who believe in the Christian religion, profess also to believe in the superintending providence of God, and are taught to hope that the Divine blessing will accompany those designs which are undertaken in His name and conducted in His fear. If we were ‘a heathen nation,’ then might we send forth our fleets without a prayer, and commit them for a safe voyage ‘to goddess Fortune and fair winds.’ But we are a Christian nation, though not a superstitious one; and, however individuals may consider it, it is certain that our countrymen in general view the performance of the offices of religion with great respect; and that, in particular circumstances on board ship, no duty is more acceptable, none more interesting, none more salutary and consoling. Such scenes the author himself has witnessed; and from those persons who have witnessed such scenes, he has never heard but one opinion as to the propriety of having a clergyman to form one of the great family in a ship in these long, sickly, and perilous voyages. When the news arrived in England last year of the loss of the seven Indiamen in a distant ocean, how gratifying would it have been to surviving friends, if they could have been assured that the offices

for carrying the proposed measure into effect was actually transmitted to a member of the Court of Directors, to lay before the Court. If it were made an indispensable qualification of the chaplain that he should understand the rudiments of the Persian and Hindostanee languages, and the common elements of geometry and navigation, for the instruction of the midshipmen, his services would be truly important, merely in his secular character. Every truly respectable commander in the Company’s service must be happy to have an exemplary clergyman on board his ship.

of religion and the consolation of its ministers had been afforded to those who perished, during their last days! These events have a warning voice; and it is not unbecoming a great and respectable body of men like the East-India Company to attend to it. The legislature has not neglected a subject of this importance. It is required that every ship of the line should have a chaplain; and we have lately seen some of our most renowned admirals, both before and after battle, causing the prayers and thanksgivings of the fleet to ascend to the God of heaven.

“There still remains one topic more, to which the author would advert. It may be presumed to be the wish of the major part of this nation, that whenever a missionary of exemplary character, and of respectable recommendation, applies to the East-India Company for a passage to our Eastern shores, his request might be treated with indulgence. In him we export a blessing (as he may prove to be) to thousands of our fellow-creatures; and his example and instructions, and prayers, will do no harm to the ship in which he sails. While the East-India Company retain the sole privilege of conveyance to India, the nation would be pleased to see this condescension shown to persons in humble circumstances, whose designs are of a public character, and acknowledged by all men to be pious and praiseworthy. The author will conclude these observations with a paragraph which he has found in a manuscript of the Rev. Mr. Kolhoff, of Tanjore, the successor of Mr. Swartz, which has been just transmitted for publication :—

“ ‘It is a remarkable fact, that since the foundation of our mission, which is now one hundred years, and during which period upwards of fifty missionaries have arrived from Europe; among the many ships that have been lost, there never perished one vessel *which had a missionary on board.*’ ” \*

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“ The following letter, written by Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, on the subject of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, was published in Calcutta, in the year 1807.

“ ‘ *Calgarth Park, Kendal,  
14th May, 1806.*

“ ‘ REVEREND SIR,—Some weeks ago I received your ‘Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India;’ for which obliging attention I now return you my best thanks. I hesitated for some time whether I ought to interrupt your speculations with my acknowledgments for so valuable a present; but on being informed of the noble premium by which you purpose to exercise the talents of graduates in the University of Cambridge, I determined to express to you my admiration of your disinterestedness and zeal in the cause of Christianity.

“ ‘ Twenty years and more have now elapsed since, in a sermon before the House of Lords, I hinted to the then Government the propriety of paying regard to the propagation of Christianity in India; and I have

\* “ MS. materials for the Life of Swartz.”

since then, as fit occasions offered, privately but unsuccessfully pressed the matter on the consideration of those in power. If my voice or opinion can, in future, be of any weight with the king's ministers, I shall be most ready to exert myself in forwarding any prudent measure for promoting a liberal ecclesiastical establishment in British India. It is not without consideration that I say a liberal establishment, because I heartily wish that every Christian should be at liberty to worship God according to his conscience, and be assisted therein by a teacher, at the public expense, of his own persuasion.

“ ‘The subjects you have proposed for the work which shall obtain your prize, are all of them judiciously chosen, and if properly treated (as my love for my Alma Mater persuades me they will be), may probably turn the thoughts of the Legislature towards the measure you recommend.

“ ‘The *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, by Fabricius, published at Hamburg in 1731, will be of great use to the candidates for your prize; and his *Index Geographicus Episcopatum Orbis Christiani*, subjoined to that work, might, if accompanied with proper notes, afford a very satisfactory elucidation of your third head.

“ ‘God in his providence hath so ordered things, that America, which 300 years ago was peopled by none but Pagans, has now many millions of Christians in it; and will not, probably, 300 years hence, have a single Pagan in it, but be occupied by more Christians, and more enlightened Christians, than now exist in Europe.

“ ‘ Africa is not now worse fitted for the reception of Christianity than America was when it was first visited by Europeans; and Asia is much better fitted for it, inasmuch as Asia enjoys a considerable degree of civilization; and some degree of it is necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity. The commerce and colonization of Christian states have civilized America, and they will, in process of time, civilize and Christianize the whole earth. Whether it be a Christian duty to attempt, by lenient methods, to propagate the Christian religion among Pagans and Mahomedans can be doubted, I think, by few; but whether any attempt will be attended with much success, till Christianity is purified from its corruptions, and the lives of Christians are rendered correspondent to their Christian profession, may be doubted by many; but there certainly never was a more promising opportunity of trying the experiment of subverting Paganism in India, than that which has for some years been offered to the Government of Great Britain.

“ ‘ The morality of our holy religion is so salutary to civil society, its promises of a future state so consolatory to individuals, its precepts so suited to the deductions of the most improved reason, that it must finally prevail throughout the world. Some have thought that Christianity is losing ground in Christendom. I am of a different opinion. Some ascititious doctrines, derived from Rome and Geneva, are losing ground amongst learned men; some unchristian practices springing from ignorance, bigotry, intolerance, self-sufficiency of opinion, with uncharitableness of judgment, are losing

ground among all sober-minded men; but a belief in Jesus Christ, as the Saviour of the world, as the medium through whom eternal life will be given to all who obey his Gospel, is more and more confirmed every day in the minds of men of eminence and erudition, not only in this, but in every other Christian country. From this praise I am not disposed to exclude even France itself, notwithstanding the temporary apostasy of some of its philosophers from every degree of religious faith. I cannot but hope well of that country, when I see its National Institute proposing for public discussion the following subject: 'What has been the influence of the reformation of Luther on the political situation of the different states of Europe, and on the progress of knowledge?' especially when I see the subject treated by Mr. Villars in a manner which would have derived honour to the most liberal Protestant in the freest state in Europe.

"It is not to be denied, that the morals of Christians in general fall far short of the standard of Christian perfection, and have ever done so, scarcely excepting the latter end of the first century. Yet, notwithstanding this concession, it is a certain fact, that the Christian religion has always operated to the production of piety, benevolence, self-government, and the love of virtue amongst individuals, in every country where it has been received; and it will everywhere operate more powerfully, as it is received with more firm assurance of its truth; and it will be everywhere received with more firm assurance of its truth, as it is better understood; for when it is properly understood,

it will be freed from the pollutions of superstition and fanaticism among the hearers, and from ambition, domination, and secularity among the teachers.

“ ‘ Your publication has given us in England a great insight into the state of Christianity in India, as well as into the general state of learning amongst you ; and it has excited in me the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the College of Fort William. It is an institution which would have done honour to the wisdom of Solon or Lycurgus. I have no knowledge personally of the Marquis Wellesley, but I shall think of him, and of his coadjutors in this undertaking, with the highest respect and admiration as long as I live.

“ ‘ I cannot enter into any particulars relative to an Ecclesiastical Establishment in India ; nor would it, perhaps, be proper to press Government to take the matter into their consideration, till this country is freed from the danger which threatens it : but I have that opinion of his Majesty’s ministers, that they will, not only from policy, but from a serious sense of religious duty, be disposed to treat the subject, whenever it comes before them, with great judgment and liberality. May God direct their counsels !

“ ‘ ‘ Our empire in India,’ said Mr. Hastings, ‘ has been acquired by the sword, and must be maintained by the sword.’ I cannot agree with him in this sentiment. All empires have been originally acquired by violence, but they are best established by moderation and justice. There was a time when we showed ourselves to the inhabitants of India in the character of tyrants and robbers : that time, I trust, is gone for ever. The wisdom

of British policy, the equity of its jurisprudence, the impartiality of its laws, the humanity of its penal code, and above all, the incorrupt administration of public justice, will, when they are well understood, make the Indians our willing subjects, and induce them to adopt a religion attended with such consequences to the dearest interests of the human mind. They will rejoice in having exchanged the tyranny of Pagan superstition, and the despotism of their native princes, for the mild mandates of Christianity and the stable authority of equitable laws. The difference between such different states of civil society, as to the production of human happiness, is infinite; and the attainment of happiness is the ultimate aim of all individuals in all nations.

“ ‘ I am, Reverend Sir,

“ ‘ Your obliged and faithful servant,

“ ‘ R. LLANDAFF.

“ ‘ *To Rev. Dr. Buchanan, Vice-Provost of the  
College of Fort William, Calcutta.* ”

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“ CONCLUSION.

“ In the progress of these researches, the author has found his mind frequently drawn to consider the extraordinary difference of opinion which exists among men of learning, in regard to the importance and obligation of communicating religious knowledge to our fellow-creatures; and he has often heard the question asked,



‘What can be the cause of this discrepancy of opinion?’ For that such a difference does exist is most evident: it is exemplified at this moment in some of the most illustrious characters for rank and learning in the nation. This is a problem of a very interesting character at this day, and worthy of a distinct and ample discussion, particularly at our seats of learning. The problem may be thus expressed:—‘What power is that which produces in the minds of some persons a real interest and concern in the welfare of their fellow-creatures; extending not only to the comfort of their existence in this world, but to their felicity hereafter; while other men, who are apparently in similar circumstances as to learning and information, do not feel inclined to move one step for the promotion of such objects?’ The latter, it may be, can speculate on the philosophy of the human mind, on its great powers and high dignity, on the sublime virtue of universal benevolence, on the tyranny of superstition, and the slavery of ignorance; and will sometimes quote the verse of the poet:—

“ ‘Homo sum : humani nil a me alienum puto :’

but they leave it to others, and generally to the Christian in humble life, to exercise the spirit of that noble verse. This is a very difficult problem; and it has been alleged by some, that it cannot be solved on any known principles of philosophy. The following relation will probably lead to principles by which we may arrive at a solution.

“ There was once a king in the East, whose empire

extended over the known world, and his dominion 'was to the end of the earth.' During the former part of his reign his heart was filled with pride; he knew not the God of heaven; and he viewed with the utmost indifference the nations over whom he ruled, worshipping idols of wood and stone. But it pleased the King of kings to dethrone this haughty monarch, to cast him down from his high estate, and to abase him in the dust. And after he had been for a time in the furnace of affliction, and his proud heart was humbled, God graciously revealed himself to him in his true name and character, and then restored him to his former prosperity and power. The penitent king thus once more exalted, and filled with admiration at the discovery of the ONLY TRUE GOD, immediately issued an edict to the whole world, setting forth the greatness of the Most High, asserting His glory, and inviting all nations to 'praise and magnify HIM that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom is from generation to generation.' This memorable edict began in these sublime terms:—

"*'Nebuchadnezzar the King, unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth, peace be multiplied unto you. I thought it good to show the signs and wonders which the Most High God hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs! how mighty are his wonders!'* Having recounted the judgment and mercy of God to himself, he thus concludes: 'Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honour the King of Heaven, all whose works are truth,

and his ways judgment; and them that walk in pride he is able to abase.’\*

“Such a proclamation to the nations of the earth was a noble act of a king, and ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. It reminds us of the last charge of HIM ‘who ascended up on high:’ *Go, teach all nations*. It discovers to us the new and extended benevolence, greatness of mind, and pure and heavenly charity, which distinguish that man whose heart has been impressed by *the grace of God*. How solemn his sense of duty! how ardent to declare the glory of his Saviour! his views for the good of men, how disinterested and enlarged! It is but too evident that all our speculations concerning a divine revelation, and the obligation imposed on us to study it ourselves, or to communicate it to others, are cold and uninteresting, and excite not to action, ‘until, through the tender compassion of God, the day-spring from on high visit us, to give light to them that sit in darkness;’† to humble our hearts, at the remembrance of our sins against God, and to affect them with a just admiration of his pardoning mercy.

“Let Great Britain imitate the example of the Chaldean king, and send forth to all the world *her* testimony concerning the true God. She also reigns over many nations which ‘worship idols of wood and stone.’ Let her in like manner declare to them ‘the *signs and wonders* of the Almighty.’ And in this design every individual will concur, of every Church, family,

\* “Daniel iv.

† “Luke i. 79.

and name, whose heart has been penetrated with just apprehensions of the most high God, having known His judgments and experienced His mercy.

*"Kirby Hall, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire,  
Feb. 15, 1811."*

THE END.

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